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2155 2223

Speech by the Defendant ARAKI

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Excerpt therefrom

For In Ident. Evidence

15847

Tuesday, 21 January 1947

at 0930.

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL

FOR THE FAR EAST Court House of the Tribunal War Ministry Building Tokyo, Japan

The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment,

Appearances:

For the Tribunal, same as before.

For the Prosecution Section, same as before.

For the Defense Section, same as before.

(English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, IMTFE.)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

THE PRESIDENT: All the accused are present except OKAWA and MATSUI who are represented by their counsel. We have a certificate from the prison surgeon of Sugamo that the accused MATSUI is ill and unable to attend the trial today. The certificate will be recorded and filed.

Major Moore.

LANGUAGE ARBITER (Major Moore): Mr. President: With the permission of the Tribunal we submit the following correction: Exhibit 2182A, record page 15,622, line 2, substitute "Washington" for "Versailles."

THE PRESIDENT: Colonel Mornane.

"5th February, 1946, pages 6, 7, 8.

"Q Now, General, in our first interrogation my first question was when was it you first went to Manchuria for the first time. Now, your answer was August 15th, 1931.

"A Yes, I said that, but later changed it to the 18th of August. I corrected you the last time. I had that difference of three days, which I corrected.

"Q That is the first time you ever were in Manchuria?

"A Yes, I did go there once long ago. I went in 1911, and that was the first time I set foot in Manchuria. "Q And you were not in Manchuria then between 1911 and August 18, 1931? "A No. That is not correct. I have been in Menchuris in between. I went there once in 1929. "Q How long were you there then? "A I was there about six months. "Q What were your duties then? "A At that time I went as an mide to MATSUI Nanao, who is advisor to Marshal Chang Tso-lin. "Q Where was Mershal Chang Tso-lin at that time? "A At first he was in Peking and later he returned to Mukden. "Q You were with the Tokumu Kikan? "A My first connection with Tokuku Kikan was 18 August 1931. "Q You never had anything to do with it before then? "A I had no connection prior to that time. "Q Now, as a matter of fact, General, were you

not the Resident Official for the Japanese Special

Services organisation in Mukden prior to August 18,

1931, and for several years before that time?

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"K No, I was not.

"Q Prior to August 18, 1931, how much of your army service was in China immediately preceding and continuing before August 18, 1931?

"A I spent almost 18 years in China, but during that time I had returned to Japan for a short period.

"Q Most of that 18 years was with the Japanese Special Services organisation, was it not?

"A No, it was not. Most of the time I was an cide to Lt. Gen. BANZAI. Lt. Gen. BANZAI was advisor to Yuan Shih-kai, Ti Huang and Fong Yui-Shiang - different Chinese leaders, in other words.

"Q But during all this time, General, that you spent in China, the only times you got to Manchuria were in 1911, sometime in February or March, 1929, when you stayed for six months as aide to the Advisor to Marshal Chang Tso-lin, and on August 18, 1931, when you finally went over to the Japanese Special Service organisation?

"A That is true, except in 1911, I just passed through Manchuria, in 1929 I went there as side to MATSUI, but had no connection with Special Service organisation, and /ugust 18, I went there with the Special Service Organisation.

"Q General, what was the connection between

Dr. Chao Hain-Po and the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin on June 3, 1928?

"A I don't know if there was any connection, but I do know Chao Hain-Po, who was the advisor to Chang Tso-lin, and I think the date was the 4th of June, 1929.

"Q The historical record of the murder of Marshal Chang Tso-lin shows beyond a doubt it was June 3, 1929.

"A That may be so, but I recall it as 4 June,

"Q Does that change the story about when you were in Manchuria during the 1920's.

"A Yes, it will. I thought it was in 1929 that I was there, but I could be mistaken, but I remembered it to be 1929, so if it was 1928, it would change my story. I am quite sure it was in 1929, and that was the time that Chang Tso-lin was murdered, and I was there at the time.

"5 February 1946, Pages 10 - 11:

"Q General, do you still insist that the story you gave me that your sole mission on being sent for on August 18, 1931, was to investigate the murder of Captain NAKAMURA?

"Q That was not the only purpose of my going there, but that was the most important.

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"Q You told me the other day that was your only purpose.

"A I think that I told you that was my most important job, but since I was the head of Special Service Organization I had other duties.

"Q What were those other duties?

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"A The other two duties were investigation and liaison with Chinese forces.

"Q What does investigation mean?

"A The investigation consisted of determining the strength of Chinese forces, their training, their communication and the condition in the civilian population.

"Q You were sent from Tokyo to take charge of the Special Service organizations in August 1931, is that correct?

"A I left from Tokyo and travelled through Shanghai, Hankow, Peking, Tientsin and Mukden, arriving at Mukden on the 18th of August.

"Q What date did you leave Tokyo?

"A I cannot recall accurately, but I think it was early part of July.

"Q Why did you make that long swing to go up to Mukden?

"A The Chief of Staff felt that it would be a

good idea to find out the conditions in China before taking this post in Mukden, so I took that round-about trip.

"12 February 1946, Pages 7, 8, 9.

"Q Right. Now, General, at the time you had this meeting with Henry Pu-yi at Tientsin as you remember in October 1931 you were Mayor or Governor of Mukden, weren't you?

"A Yes.

"Q What were you doing at Tientsin?

"A I was sent there to convey the order from the Kwantung frmy. Also I was the Mayor but the actual work was delegated to Chao Hain-po -- the work of my office -- and then went to Tientsin.

"Q Then you were sent to Tientsin for the specific purpose of contacting Henry Pu-yi, is that correct?

"A That is correct.

"Q Who sent you?

"A By Kwangtung Army.

"Q Who issued the order; what person in Kwentung Army headquarters?

"A The commander of the Kwangtung Army.

"Q Was General HONJO still the commender then?

"A Yes, sir, he was.

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"Q Did General ITAGAKI have anything to do with
it?

"A Colonel ITAGAKI was the Chief of the Second

Section of the General Staff.

"Q Well, did he have anything to do with sending you to Tientsin?

"A Yes, order to proceed to Tientsin was issued by General HONJO, the Chief. However, detail as to my meeting with Pu-yi at Tientsin was arranged by Colonel ITAGAKI.

"Q what was Colonel ITAGAKI's order, do you remember?

"A In substance, my instruction was to convey to Pu-yi that should he return to Manchuria the Kwangtung Army would welcome his return, and, next, he arranged for my transportation and expenses, atc.

"Q Were you to suggest to Henry Pu-yi that the reason why the Kwangtung Army would welcome him back was because they would like to have him head the new puppet government that you were setting up in Manchuria?

"A I believe the Kwangtung Army must have had that idea in order to save Manchuria, however, I did not have any such idea.

"Q But you know, didn't you, General, that when you convenyed this welcome greating to Pu-yi that he would understand that was what it meant, didn't you?

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however upon receipt of instruction from the Kwangtung
Army I felt that such things would be required to
settle the Manchoukuo turmoil where so many factions
are competing against each other and causing disturbances.
I happened to think of that more than about what the
Chief of the Second Section told me at the time.

"Q Good.

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"A That was to the effect that he warned me that I should not force him to return to Manchoukuo and if he wants to come back it would be fine.

"Q Why on earth did he warn you to that effect; had you suggested that it might be wise to try to force

"A He definitely told me that there would not be a necessity to bring him back forcibly.

"Q Well, that does not answer my question, General; answer it, please.

"A Perhaps the Chief of the Second Section might have had some other idea to control the situation in Manchuria even though Pu-yi may not return.

"Q But why is it that he was afraid you might use force, was that your usual method in handling things like this?

"A That I don't know. That is up to ITAGAKI.

Wes that your usual method of handling things like this?

And by that I mean was it your own personal method or
the method of the Kwangtung Army, either one?

"A I do not know what method the Kwengtung Army used, however, it is my motto that whatever the order I receive I see to it that purpose is accomplished.

"12 February 1948, page 10.

in North China that you made to the Kwangtung Army that you referred to a minute ago?

"A Upon my return to the Kwengtung headquarters?

"A I don't remember so well, it took place sometime ago; however, I mentioned the fact that the situation in North China remained unsettled, and also a distribution of enemy forces throughout that area meaning Tientsin armies. Also gave information on the subject of how to be ready in case the troops in Manchuria should spread over to North China.

"12 February 1946, Pege 11.

"Q General, you know what the Nine Power Treaty is, don't you?

"A I know what that is; however, I don't know as to each provision it contains.

"Q You know, don't you, that it guarantees the sovereignty of Chine? "A Yes, I know that. "Q You knew that in October 1931 when you were sent to contact Henry Pu-yi, didn't you? "A Yes, of course, I did. "Q Then you knew, didn't you, that when the Kwangtung Army was planning to set up an independent state called Manchoukuo that that was going to violate the Nine Power Tresty, didn't you? "A Yes, I did, but at that time Japan made some proclamation about her attitude toward the treaty. I do not remember the details of it." Mr. Lopez will carry on the presentation of the case of the prosecution at this stage, if the Tribunal pleases. 20 21 22 23 24

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THE PRESILENT: Mr. Lopez.

MR. LOPEZ: If the Tribunal please, we offer in evidence IPS document No. 2910 which is an extract from the January 11, 1932 entry of the diary of the defendant KIDO, to show the defendant ITAGAKI's inner connection with Japanese activities in Manchuria. The KIDO Diary has been marked exhibit 178 for identification only (pages 1,921 and 1,922 of the record.)

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2910 will receive exhibit No. 2191.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2191 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: We read the complete extract.

"January 11 -- At 10:30 o'clock this morning in the antechamber connected to the lecture hall of the Imperial Palace, I, together with persons close to the Emperor, heard from Colonel S. ITAGAKI, staff officer of the Kwantung Army, the conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia. Colonel ITAGAKI first explained the situation concerning the progress of campaign against soldier bandit forces in Manchuria

and Mongolia as well as the progress in establishing a new state in Manchuria. Regarding the establishment of a new state, Colonel ITAGAKI gave hint that Manchuria would be placed under a new ruler, and Japanese Army would take charge of a national defense of the new Manchurian state. Colonel ITAGAKI further explained that Japanese people would participate in the management of a new state as high government officials and such Japanese becoming Manchurian officials would be invited to become Manchurian subjects. Under such circumstances, Colonel ITAGAKI further says that they are now studying regulations concerning the naturalization and dual certificate of nationality. Hearing this from ITAGAKI I was rather astonished to find that there are a wide difference between my 'head' (T. N. idea?) and that of theirs."

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We tender in evidence IPS document No.

1632W(8) which is an extract from the May 30, 1935
entry of the diary of the defendant KILO, to show
that defendant ITAGAKI and others were endeavoring
to have the military, instead of the diplomatic
circles, undertake negotiations with the Chinese
Government.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK (F THE COURT: Prosecution's document 1632W(8) will receive exhibit No. 2192.

(Whereupon, the document above referred towas marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2192 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: From this document we read the first five paragraphs:

"May 30, 1935.

"Thursday (Extract) - According to this morning's newspaper, the Japanese garrison in North China are reported to have lodged a momentous claim against the Chinese Government.

"In roply to my questions on the matter, Vice-Minister SHIGENITSU made a general observation to the following effect:

"On the one hand, the new development seems to be connected with conferences conducted by Japanese officers at Lairen, Shanghai, and so on. Although Yu Hsueh Chung, originally a member of Chiang Hsueh Liang defeated party, has invariably opposed to our military objectives, the Chinese Government has been powerless to take any countermeasures.

"On the other hand, the report that SAKAI, Chief of Staff of the Japanese garrison, on the

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occasion of his trip to Tokyo, not only abused the Central Army authorities but also complained of the unfair distribution of honours. He also thought it possible that the absence of the War Minister may afford the Japanese garrison an opportunity of taking up a positive attitude.

"At any rate, this stap against China is based on the idea that ITAGAKI and others who have been intending to let the military, instead of the diplomatic circles, take the lead in negotiations with the Chinese Government, just as in the case of Manchuria. For the attainment of such an end, they were going to utilize the Manchurian Railway Company and the Japanese garrison in Tientsin, as has indeed been revealed by the recent action of that garrison."

We introduce in evidence IPS document No. 2943A-1 which is Telegram No. 623 sent by Consul-General HAYASHI at Mukden to Foreign Minister SHILEHARA, 19 September 1931, to show that the defendant ITAGAKI was deaf to any plea to prevent the unnecessary aggravation and expansion of the Mukden Incident.

THE PRESILENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2943A-1 will receive exhibit No. 2193.

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(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2193 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: We read the whole document except the last two paragraphs:

"1931

"Despatched MUKLEN 19th A.M.

"Received This Ministry 19th September A.M.

"/T.N. From: Consul-General HAYASHI

"/T.N. To: Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA

"/T.N. Telegram No. 024./

"Re: Outgoing telegram No. 623.

"In view of the fact that there have been several requests from the Chinese side to settle the Incident amicably, I telephoned Staff Officer ITAGAKI that, as both Japan and China had not yet entered formally into a state of war, and, moreover as the Chinese side has been declaring to the effect that it would adhere strictly to the non-resistance principle, it would be essential at this juncture to endeavor not to aggrandize the Incident unnecessarily and to arrange to settle the Incident through diplomatic channels. However, the said Staff Officer replied that, as it was a matter concerning the prestige of the State and of the Army,

although efforts would be made for the protection of foreign residents, the Army's policy was that, as the Chinese Army had attacked our troops, it had to be dealt with thoroughly. As he thus failed to show the slightest sign of complying with my request, I repeated to him the above-mentioned purport to arouse his attention."

We tender in evidence IPS document No.

2943A-3, which is a cablegram from Consul-General

HAYASHI to Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA, sent 21

September 1931, to show that ITAGAKI was a staff

officer of the Kwantung Army that set up a

municipal administration with a Japanese military

man as mayor.

THE PRESILENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2943A-3 will receive exhibit No. 2194.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2194 and received in evidence.)

. MR. LOPEZ: We read the whole document with the exception of the last three paragraphs thereof:

"Lespatched MUKLEN 21st A.M.

"Received This Ministry 21st Sept. A.M.

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"/T.N. From/ Consul-General HAYASHI

"/T.N. To/ Foreign Minister SHILEHARA

"/T.N. Telegram/ No. 676

"The Commander of the KWANTUNG Army is to issue a proclamation on the municipal administration of this city during today, the 20th instant, as per telegram sent separately. My visit was requested for by the Army Headquarters this morning, but as I was out at the time, MORISHIMA visited them. He found the Chief of Staff MIYAKE, Chief of the Military Police /T. N. Kempei-Tai/ NINOMIYA, and Staff Officer ITAGAKI present, and was told that the Kwantung Army is going to issue a proclamation today portaining to the municipal administration, although it is not intended to establish a military administration. So saying, the said proclamation was shown. MORISHIMA requested them to reconsider the matter, but failed to have them agree on the ground that it has already been decided upon and approved of by the Commander.

"I therefore met the Commander subsequently and had an informal talk, in the course of which I pointed out the mistake of the virtual establishing of a municipal administration by the Japanese and the appointment of a military man as Mayor. On the whole,

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the Commander endorsed my opinions but remarked that inasmuch as the order had already been duly issued it could not be altered, and that it would only be a matter of a few days, as it was intended to eventually hand same /T.N. the administration/ over to the Chinesei"

We introduce in evidence IPS document No. 2789 which is Cable No. 1532 sent by Consul General HAYASHI at Mukcen on December 14, 1931 to Foreign Minister INUKAI, to show that the defendant ITAGAKI was represented to have met and negotiated with Chiang Kai-shek.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2789 will receive exhibit No. 2195.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2195 and received in evidence.)

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MR. LOPEZ: We read the entire document except the last paragraph:

"From Consul-General HAYASHI at Mukden.

"To Foreign Minister INUKAI.

"Despatched from Mukden P.M. Dec. 14th 1931.

"Received P.M. Dec. 14th 1931.

"Cable No. 1532 (Cipher Code, Secret).

"Tsang Shih - I returned to his home after being released on the night of the 13th, but, according to information received from a reliable source, the Army authorities, with a view to saving the situation, are intending to summon all the Provincial Government Governors here, and, with regard to the foregoing, Staff Officer ITAGAKI is said to have met and negotiated with Tsang today, the 14th."

We introduce in evidence IPS document No. 2788, which is a certified copy of Cable No. 1258 sent 12 November 1931 by Consul-General HAYASHI at Mukden to Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA, reporting on the activities of the defendant ITAGAKI with reference to the coming of Pu-Yi to Manchuria.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2788 will receive exhibit No. 2196.

(Whereupon, the document above

referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2196 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ (Reading):

"From Consul-General HAYASHI at Mukden.

"To Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA.

"Despatched from Mukden P.M. Nov. 12th 1931.

"Received P.M. Nov. 12th 1931.

"Cable No. 1258 (Cipher Code, Secret)

"Referring to your Cable No. 'Go' 1421, on asking the Commander of the Army on the 12th regarding Emperor Hsuan-Tung's /T.N. Same as Pu-Yi/ coming to Manchuria, he replied saying that, not only had he heard nothing whatsoever, but that he even had Staff Officer ITAGAKI notify the Tientsin Garrison several days before that they were not to hurry about the Emperor's coming to Manchuria as the time was not yet sufficiently ripe.

"On my stating that it would be extremely impolitic to carry out the plan of reinstating the monarchy at once at this juncture when the military affairs in the Amur District have not yet become settled, and the regimes in the various districts have not yet been firmly established as well as when international relations too are extremely tense, and also that, even should the said Emperor come to Manchuria,

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it would be advisable not to set him up at once,
the Commander agreed with me in general, at the same
time promising that, in addition to exerting his efforts
so as not to start upon any immediate movement even in
the event of the said visit to Manchuria, he would
promptly notify us of his arrival."

which is a news story entitled "Long Preparedness is Urged by Itagaki," published in the "Japan Advertiser" for Sunday, June 26, 1938, to show that the defendant ITAGAKI, on his first important press interview since joining the cabinet as Minister of War, expressed no need for formally declaring war on China, a determination to prepare for a war of more than ten years' duration with China, and a resolve to fear not third power interference in China.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2913 will receive exhibit No. 2197.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2197 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: From said document we read the following extracts: on page 1, the headings and the first and third paragraphs:

"LONG PREPAREDNESS IS URGED BY ITAGAKI
"War Minister Says Army Should Be Ready to Prosecute
"Fighting for 10 More Years

"POPULAR SUPPORT ASKED

"No Formal Decision Reached Yet on Enforcement of "Mobilization Law, He Reveals

"Because it may be the intention of General Chiang Kai-shek to 'resist Japan for the rest of his life,' the army should be prepared to continue the hostilities 'perhaps for ten more years,' War Minister Seishiro ITAGAKI declared in a Domei interview at Kyoto yesterday.

"The first important interview since Lieutenant-General ITAGAKI recently joined the Cabinet was given after the War Minister yesterday visited the Ise Grand Shrines to report his assumption of office, the Kashiwara Shrine and also the Momoyama Mausoleum.

"Chiang's Tactics Seen

"General Chiang Kai-shek is not counting
on victories on the first line of battle, but is
hoping to overcome Japan by imposing a burden on the
country's resources over a protracted period, the
Minister said. The Japanese forces in China 'indeed,
are accomplishing splendid work,' he declared,

emphasizing that continued cooperation on the home front 'alone is the key to overcome the emergency by throwing upon it the whole weight of the country.'":

From page 2 we read the second paragraph as follows:

"Voicing his conviction that the country is able to withstand future hostilities over an indefinite period, the War Minister hoped that the nation will enter into the spirit of the Government program for conservation of national resources and extend unstinting cooperation toward the authorities."

And from page 2, the last paragraph:

"Commenting on the international situation,
he said: 'It is natural that Third Powers are resorting to various maneuvers for the sake of protecting
their interests in China. It should suffice for
Japan to follow its own policy without fear or hesitation. There has been talk of the advisability of
formally declaring war on China, but in view of the
Government's official declaration of January 16,
personally I see no need for that action.'"

We offer in evidence IPS document No. 4047-C which contains among others a captured cablegram sent by Ambassador Ott to the Army High Command and Air High Command on 6 September 1939, to show the determined

but emphasized that he himself as a soldier had full understanding of the German action.

"Grenan, Matsky

"Ott"

We tender in evidence IPS document No. 2957
which is a news story published on page 1 of the
Sunday edition, 2 October 1938, of the "Japan Advertiser"
with reference to the defendant ITAGAKI sending a congratulatory telegram to Adolf Hitler.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2957 will receive exhibit No. 2199.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2199 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: From that document we read the second paragraph:

"War Minister Seishiro ITAGAKI sent a telegram to Chancellor Adolf Hitler yesterday morning
saying: 'The Imperial Army expresses deep admiration
and felicitations for Germany's successful conduct of
the Sudeten issue and prays that Germany's national
fortunes will ever rise and that the friendship of the
German and Japanese Armies, united on the anti-Comintern
front, will be strengthened more than ever.' Navy

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front, will be strengthened more than ever.' Navy

Minister Mitsumasa YONAI instructed the naval attache at the Japanese Embassy in Berlin to deliver a similar message to the Reichsfuehrer and, Domei reports, also sent a representative to the Czechoslovak Legation here to convey a message of felicitation."

We offer in evidence IPS document No. 2958 which is a news and editorial round-up entitled "Japanese Press Comments" published in the "Japan Advertiser" of March 17, 1939, to show that the defendant ITAGAKI, as War Minister, expressed on the floor of the Diet the belief that friction with third powers was unavoidable in the execution of Japanese policy for the creation of the so-called new order in East Asia.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2958 will receive exhibit No. 2200.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2200 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: From this document we read the complete two paragraphs on page 4 under the subhead "Powers Must Be Ejected":

"Powers Must Be Ejected

"MIYAKO

"The Powers, especially Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, have been hostile toward this country since the Manchurian and China incidents. War Minister Seishiro ITAGAKI and Navy Minister Mitsumasa YONAI had the attitude of these Powers in mind, when, in reply to interpellations in the Diet, they declared that it would be impossible to avoid friction with third countries in the execution of the policy for the creation of a new order in East Asia. In the same statements, they gave expression to the resentment felt by the people over the attitude of Britain, France, and the Soviet Union toward the Sino-Japanese conflict. Evidently they had these same Powers in mind when they argued that unless third countries supporting the Chiang Kai-shek regime are ejected, there can be no hope of settling the China incident. If the Powers which are giving aid to the Chiang regime in the struggle against this country do not reform their attitude in time, this country will be compelled to take steps which will lead to a situation, the consequences of which will be serious.

"Following its action in making a loan to the Chiang regime, Britain has established a fund to stabilize the Chinese currency. The people consider this step as an act of hostility against Japan and the

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Provisional Government at Peiping. This impression is confirmed by the representations which have been made by Britain, America, and France, protesting against the exchange control which has been enforced in North China. There is no doubt that these countries deliberately misinterpreted the aims of the step taken by the Provisional Government in order to hamper the work of creating a new order in East Asia. The three Power demarches cause us to anticipate that the Powers will attempt to put further obstacles in Japan's way as the community of interests between Japan and China increases. The service Ministers were quite right when they told the Diet that it was their considered opinion that the China incident will not be brought to a conclusion until Powers supporting the Chiang regime are ejected."

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We present in evidence IPS document No. 2959 which is a news story entitled "ITAGAKI, YONAI Score Powers' Interference," published on page 1 of the July 7, 1939 issue of the "Japan Times & Mail," 2d edition, to show that the defendant ITAGAKI was for stamping out interference by third powers in what he considered as Japan's mission of constructing a new order in East Asia.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 2959 will receive exhibit No. 2201.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2201 and received in evidence.)

MR. LOPEZ: From this document we read all of page 1 with the exception of paragraph 3 and the last paragraph:

"ITAGAKI, YONAI SCORE POWERS' INTERFERENCE.
Warn Nation Must Not Relax in Determination for China
Affair Goal.

"'Unjust interference by third Powers in the execution of Japan's mission of constructing a new order in East Asia must be stamped out, it was said by both War Minister Lieutenant-General Seishiro ITAGAKI and Navy Minister Admiral Mitsumasa YONAI Thursday night on the eve of the second anniversary of the China Affair.

"The world is well aware of the fact that the invincible Japanese troops of His Majesty the Emperor have gained victories on land and sea and achieved such remarkable success which is unique in the history of the world."

"BLAMES THIRD POWERS

"'The stubborn Chiang Kai-shek regime is

still continuing resistance against Japan in complicity with third Powers which have ambitions in the Far East. It has now been laid bare that Japan's immediate enemy is not limited to the Chungking Government.

anti-Japanese policy on the part of Third Powers in order to put an end to the resistance campaign by the Chiang's regime against Japan. This must be accomplished at any cost no matter how long the present hostilities continue. Accomplishment of this point is the key to put an end to the current affair.

that the affair cannot be regarded as ended even if
the Chiang Kai-shek's regime collapses tomorrow. In
order to make China free from the semi-colonial condition and build up a new order in East Asia, any
maneuvers on the part of pro-Chiang countries must be
checked and the nation must fully be ready to cope
with the possible crisis in the world.

"All the people in the country must express their firm determination that Japan will never abandon her aim of making East Asia for the East Asiatics. No pains must be spared for the attainment of the goal."

MR. LOPEZ: Colonel Woolworth will address the Court, if your Honor please.

MR. WOOLWORTH: If it please the Tribunal.

THE PRESIDENT: Colonel Woolworth.

MR. WOOLWORTH: General MINAMI advocated and planned the Mukden Incident (September 18, 1931) and was responsible for expanding that incident while Minister of War, and was responsible for the sending of reinforcements into Manchuria and committing acts of aggression in violation of treaties and assurances. As Commanding General of the Kwantung Army --

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. McManus.

MR. McMANUS: If your Honor please, I realize the Court's ruling on statements before the introduction of evidence, but I still insist that the Court should draw some line on the prosecutor testifying. I know that this statement here from the outset, if the Court pleases, your Honor can determine immediately that it is more than an explanation. Let the evidence speak for itself. I object to any lengthy explanation rather than the evidence speaking for itself.

THE PRESIDENT: We assume, Colonel Woolworth, that you will not say more than appears in the evidence you are about to adduce. So far you have not offended.

MR. WOOLWORTH: As Commanding General of the

Kwantung Army and concurrently Ambassador to Manchukuo (1934-1936) he conspired with others of the military clique to further aggress against China in violation of treaties and assurances. I will now offer documents in proof of the above facts: Prosecution offers for identification only document 1903, which is a copy of the Osaka Asahi of 1 July 1931, and introduces in evidence an excerpt there-10 from. 11 THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 12 CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 13 No. 1903 will be given exhibit No. 2202 for identification 14 only. The excerpt therefrom, the same document number, 15 will receive exhibit No. 2202-A. 16 (Whereupon, the document above 17 referred to was marked prosecution's ex-18 hibit No. 2202 for identification; the 19 excerpts therefrom being marked prose-20 cution's exhibit No. 2202-A and received 21 in evidence.) 22 MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading) 23 "Osaka Asahi 24

"The War Ministry invited Manchurian railway

"1 July 1931

to avoid unnecessary anxieties on the part of the local people, I state this.'"

I omit the last paragraph.

Prosecution offers for identification only document No. 827, which is a Biography of General MINAMI by YOSHITAKE, Ken, and introduces in evidence an excerpt therefrom, document 827.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Toshio OKAMOTO.

MR. T. OKAMOTO: I object to the presentation of this document on the ground that the biography of General MINAMI is only an excerpt thereof. I submit that no leave of the Court for the presentation of an excerpt of a biography was given by the Court.

THE PRESIDENT: Does that suggest the rules have not been observed? The use of every excerpt must be the subject of an order under the rules.

MR. WOOLWORTH: If your Honor please, I read to the Tribunal yesterday the agreement of the defense that this excerpt could be used; a waiver of Rule 6b(1).

THE PRESIDENT: If I recollect rightly, such an agreement was made a consent order, but I do not know what it rovered.

MR. WOOLWORTH: It covered this document, sir.

MR. T. OKAMOTO: I am not aware -- This counsel, the present counsel, is not aware of the consent or waiver

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of the order -- rule -- which the prosecutor just stated to the Court. If there was any such similar agreement or consent it was -- it pertains to excerpts which are going to be presented during the time of the defense's case and it does not apply to this kind of document which is being presented by the prosecution.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it had better be cleared up. I do not recollect every detail in Chambers. There was a large attendance of counsel on the occasion.

MR. T. OKAMOTO: Mr. Blewett notified me that such an agreement was concluded between counsel Logan and the prosecution section. Therefore, I withdraw the reason of my objection. However, I should like to ask of the prosecutor what relevancy has page — has the content in page one and page two of exhibit 827? Under the title of "Biography of General MINAMI", I find in this document a piece of a cartoon taken from a newspaper, and souvenir or remembrance or recollection concerning outbreak of the Manchurian Incident. I am not sure or rather I am doubtful whether those two documents or materials, which appear in the evidence have actually been taken or have been taken from the book itself.

THE MONITOR: slight correction: Instead of souvenirs and so forth, just remembrances of the outbreak

of the Manchurian Incident.

THE PRESIDENT: The counsel can consult the original. The prosecution have no obligation to explain the point of their evidence to the defense. They have such an obligation to the Court and they have discharged it.

The objection is overruled.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2203 for identification and the excerpt therefrom was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2203-A and received in evidence.)

MR. WOOLWORTH: (heading):

"Biography of General MINAMI by YOSHITAKE, Ken.
Days of War Minister and Manchurian Incident.

"Not many days after the occurrence of the Manchurian Incident, a caricature contained in a newspaper showed MINAMI drawn in colossal figure sunk back in a chair with arms folded. Finance Minister INOUYE in smaller form sat in the same chair with his back against the general, while the Premier, WAKATSUKI, and the Foreign Minister sat beneath the chair with folded knees. It was an ASAHI issue of about the middle of October 1935, when the Finance Minister was being spoken of as preparing for the next presidency of the Minsei-to (Democratic Party.) This reflects upon the fact that the WAKATSUKI Cabinet, after the Manchurian Incident, was substantially led by General MINAMI. (p. 115)

"General MINAMI believed from the very beginning in the 'strongists' policy, that the Manchurian issue could be effectively settled by use of arms alone. To the so-called softist, this came as a matter of surprise, but to the general, as a matter of course. Firm was his determination and solid as a rock. Consistence ruled his beliefs from start to finish. No wonder then that soon after accepting the chair of the Ministership,

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In August of 1931, when war clouds hung heavily over
Japan and China because of the assassination of Major
Shintaro NAKAMURA, that the general in his position as
Minister of War delivered a speech at the conference
of divisional commanders saying, 'Guard our lifeline
Manchuria!' The voice of the strongest eventually
prevailed and the nation came to accept the cry
'Guard the lifeline' as their own voice. (pp. 115-116."

THE PRESIDENT: This is only the opinion of an editor or caricaturist.

MR. WOOLWORTH: That is true.

THE PRESIDENT: Why put that before us. If
the world knows that we get this stuff and believe we
act on it what will they think of us? It is nonsensical.
We are judging these men not the editors of the Japanese
press or the caricaturists, and we judge them from
what they say and do and from what others in association with them say and do.

Mk. WOOL OATH: If the Court please, I will read no further from this document.

THE PRESIDENT: Counsel OKAMOTO's objection was well taken, but we didn't appreciate it at the time. We have to read what you tendered first.

MR. WOOLWORTH: The prosecution offers for identification only document No. 1426, which is Foreign

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Ministry Records: Manchurian Incident-Public Opinion and Press Comment. pp. 241-242, and introduces in evidence excerpt therefrom which is a translation of War Minister MINAMI's statement appearing in the New York Herald-Tribune on or about 18 October 1931.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

No. 1426 will receive exhibit No. 2204 for identification only, and the excerpt therefrom, same document number, will receive exhibit No. 2204-A.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2204 for identification, the excerpt therefrom being marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2204-A and received in evidence.)

Mk. WOOLWORTH: (heading):

"Foreign Ministry Records: Manchurian Incident-Public Opinion and Press Comment. pp. 241-242.

"Translation of War Minister MINAMI's statement cabled by a New York Herald Tribune correspondent on or about 18 October, 1931.

"Today's statement made by the military authorities
has clarified the base of the Government's policy
objecting to American participation. War Minister
MINAMI stated that: 'It is doubtful whether United

States intervention would contribute to the settlement of the matter in question, that this matter should be dealt with directly between Japan and China, that we cannot admit the intervention of any third party and that whatever steps the League Council would take with the United States, it is quite evident that Japan would under no circumstances alter her policy in regard to the question that has a bearing upon her national vicissitude. According to the Rengo semiofficial press agency, a certain high ranking army officer remarked that the conduct of the United States in Manchuria went too far in interfering with particular Japanese interests and if the United States criticizes the Chinchow Incident, then what about the Nicaragua question? He said that it was a regrettable thing that the League and the United States were showing attitudes of ignoring Japan's special interests in Manchuria; that the fundamental policy of the Army is to disapprove third power intervention in settling the matter in question; and that this stand is definite and immovable."

I will omit the last paragraph.

The prosecution offers for identification only document No. 831, which is minutes of meeting of Privy Council 9 December 1931, and introduces in evidence

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excerpts therefrom, pages 16 to 32 of the Japanese text, document 831.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 831 will receive exhibit No. 2205 for identification only; the excerpt therefrom will receive exhibit

No. 2205-A.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2205 for identification, the excerpts therefrom being marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2205-A and received in evidence.)

two important mistakes in connection with the document which has just been presented and received. The first one is in page 1 in the seventh line under the heading "WAR MINISTER MINAMI", line seven of that paragraph. There we find the words "the commander of the above force." It can be taken as -- I am afraid it will be taken to mean the commander of the Kwantung Army. Whereas, if you compare the text with the original Japanese text, you will find out that those words mean "the Central Army authorities", and this mistake will be very easily

In the second line -- I mean the next line immediately underneath the words I pointed out previously you will find the words "12.40 P.M."

This should read either "12.40 hours" or "00.40" and is another obvious mistake.

found out if you compare the text with the Japanese

Ther coming down to the page 2, fifth line of the third paragraph, "the affair would be extended" should read "the affair would not be extended."

That is also an obvious mistake.

THE PRESIDENT: I think the shortest way to deal with this is to refer the matter to the

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original.

Board of Reference and to ask them to consider any representations that counsel OKAMOTO makes.

THE INTERPRETER: I should like to terminate the words of the counsel OKAMOTO.

It means the contrary if "not" is added hetween "would" and "be extended."

THE PRISIDENT: The Board may have revised the exhibit be ore we meet again. We will recess for fifteen minutes.

> (Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was taken until 1100, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Colonel "oolworth.

MR. WOOL"ORTH: If your Honor please, as I understand it, before I read this document there will be a report on the translation.

THE PRESIDENT: We thought that one might be made during the recess. Well, proceed to read it and we can make any corrections necessary later.

MR. "OOL"ORTH: (Reading)

"MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE CHINA IN-CIDENT REPORT DATED DECEMBER 9TH 1931.

"Report on the China Incident (Map Annexed).

"The meeting was opened at the office of this
Council Building at 1:30 P.N. on "ednesday, 9th December 1931."

I will omit the persons present.

"("AR MINISTER MINAMI): 'I shall now report
on conditions in the Chinchow district. In the concentration of an army it is a principle in military
tectics to send one unit ehead. Now, as you know, our
forces were distributed over Tsitsihar, Ssupingkai,
and other places. So, in order to concentrate them,
one unit was sent to the Chinchow district. Accordingly,
an order was issued commanding all units in the said

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area to receive instructions from the commander of
the above force in all their operations and following
this an order was issued at 12:40 P.M. on the 27th
November that the unit should return to a position
east of Hsin-Min-Tun. Incidentally, information to
the effect that if Japan so demanded the Chineese would
evacuate Chinchow came into our hands. Thus, there
was no necessity for any strong offensive action.
Perhaps this might have led to the report which appeared in the newspapers, etc., to the effect that the
Chief of Staff, the Minister of War, and the Minister
of Foreign Affairs, had come to an agreement that the
attack on Chinchow should not be carried out.

"COUNCILLOR EGI): 'Although I think it is reasonable that attack should be made under some pretext on Chinchow where CHANG HSUEH-LIANG has his head-quarters, but great will be our loss of credit with the League of Nations and the great powers. Though it might be very convenient for Japan to have Manchoukuo an independent state, I do not believe the great powers would accept it. It might be well for Manchurian people to work for their independence on their own accord, but are we not losing general confidence as a result of continually taking action under the pretext of self-defense.'

"(WAR MINISTER MINAMI): 'We do not wish to give the impression to foreign countries that we have attacked Manchuria and Mongolia.' "(COUNCILLOR SAKURAI): 'After our planes 4

bombed Chinchow our country quickly lost the confidence of the League of Nations which is certainly a matter of regret. Must we all regard this loss as inevitable?'

"(WAR MINISTER MANIMI): 'I too consider it regrettable. However, apperently Europeans and Americans ere mistaken in thinking that we made use of the large bombs such as used in the European War. Moreover, the contrast between this incident and the frequent government announcements that the affair would be extended has caused a strong reaction amongst them. '

"(COUNCILLOR SAKURAI): '"hat is meant by the term "benitai'?'

"("AR MINISTER MINAMI): ' 'Benitai' means units which engage in battle wearing plain clothes and not uniform. No small inconvenience has been experienced in fighting them because they make it their practice to indulge in espionage activities.'

"(COUNCILLOR MIZUMACHI): 'What do you think are CHANG HSUEH-LIANG's real intentions?'

"("AR MINIST"R MANIMI): 'As far as my own judgment goes, he intends to go back to his own base so

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that he might meintain his livelihood. But as it is, he has no means of raising income tax, and it is very likely he is worrying how to carry on. His recent activity against Japan may offer some excuse to the Nanking Government and partly indicates what might be termed a desperate action.'

"(COUNCILLOR EGI): 'Regarding my interpelation
the other day when I asked a question regarding the improper action taken by some of the young officers of
our Army. It is not at all suitable for the maintenance
of military discipline to leave the matter of punishment
embiguous. Once they rebel is it not a matter of
course that they should be punished? I fear some soldiers may rise up in indignation. It is desirable that
such matters should be publicly disposed of.'

warning, but the questions of punishment is still under consideration. However, the authorities also deem it important to maintain discipline, so please leave the affair to the Army.'

"(COUNCILLOR EGI): 'I am quite satisfied to hear your answer. I am not at all concerned about the details of the punishment.

"(CHAIRMAN KURATOMI): 'We thank the "ar Minister for his giving us the detailed information he has

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Today's reeting is now adjourned.'
      given us.
                "(Adjournment took place at 3:30 P.M.)"
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MR. WOOLWORTH: The prosecution offers for identification only document No. 1483, Foreign Ministry document containing foreign press comment, North China Incident of May and June, 1935, and introduces in evidence marked excerpts therefrom.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 1483 will receive exhibit No. 2206 for identification only, and the excerpt therefrom, the same document number, will receive exhibit No. 2206A.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2206 for identification; and the excerpt therefrom was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2206A and received in evidence.)

MR. BROOKS: Mr. President, my co-counsel tells me that in this document 2205A which was just introduced, where there was some mistranslation, that the translation is very bad in several other places, and there is actually a page that he never pointed out. On that account I think we should refer the minister's statements,

that is, War Minister MINAMI'S statements, therein to the Language Section for a careful check on a matter of this importance.

THE PRESIDENT: 'It is already referred for consideration and such representations as the Japenese counsel might make.

MR. BROOKS: If the President desires, we can list the others, but there are so many others that I think, for the purpose of saving time, that the four or five paragraphs, that is, of MINAMI'S statement, should all be checked and presented all at one time. It is as you desire.

THE PRESIDENT: We want you to consider every representation made by Japanese counsel,

Major Moore. We don't want you to deal with the matter piecemeal. Japanese counsel mentioned some matters to us; apparently there others that he wants to name, so don't read what you have to say until you see Japanese counsel again, Major Moore.

LANGUAGE ARBITER (Major Moore): Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: This document is admitted

on the usual terms -- 1483.

MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading) "Excerpts from the Christian Science Monitor, May 31, 1935.

"JAPAN THREATENS STRONGER ACTION IN NORTH

"By a Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor.

"Tokyo, May 31 - Sino-Japanese co-operation, carefully nurtured by the Japanese Foreign Ministry during the last months. was somewhat blighted by the drastic action of Japanese military leaders who presented to Chinese authorities in North China a series of demands containing all the features of an ultimatum except a definite time limit.

"Accusing Chinese authorities, especially the Governor of Hopei Province, Gen. Yu Hsueh Chung, of violating the Tangku truce by instigating or conniving in political banditism in the demilitarized zone and by the assassination of two Chinese editors who were considered Japanese agents, the Japanese Chief of Staff in North China, Colonel Sakai, stated that if China did not immediately halt all anti-Japanese and anti-Manchoukuo activities and abolish all organizations resorting to terrorist acts, the Japanese Army would take steps to cope

with the situation.

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"A Foreign Office spokesman today intimated that Japanese action, in the event of the Chinese non-compliance, would probably take the form of occupation of the demilitarized zone for the purpose of meintaining order. He expressed doubt whether the occupation would include Tientsin and Peiping. However, inclusion of these cities within a new demilitarized zone is possible if the incident takes a serious or protracted turn.

"The present move was not sudden, as Japanese military leaders for some time have expressed
grewing dissatisfaction over the alleged failure of
the Chinese to carry out the letter and spirit of the
Tangku truce. So far the Japanese Foreign Office
has made no representations to Nanking, the matter
being considered exclusively military.

"High Japanese Army officers have repeatedy proclaimed dissatisfaction with what they condered a too conciliatory Fereign Office pelicy
ward China, and openly protested against the recent
sing of the Japanese Legation at Peiping to the
cus of an Embassy. Simultaneously with the emerof a serious crisis in North China, milder

with the situation.

"A Foreign Office spokesman today intimated that Japanese action, in the event of the Chinese non-compliance, would probably take the form of occupation of the demilitarized zone for the purpose of maintaining order. He expressed doubt whether the occupation would include Tientsin and Peiping. However, inclusion of these cities within a new demilitarized zone is possible if the incident takes a serious or protracted turn.

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'requests.'

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"Major-General ISOGAI was quoted by Rengo (Japanese news agency) as saying China faces the necessity of establishing a new government 'capable of cooperating with Japan in maintaining peace in

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"The present flurry coincides with the period when the Japanese Army and Navy formulated demands for next year's budget appropriations.

Military action or the constant threat thereof may conceivably prove a means of inducing China to recognize the independence of Manchoukuo.

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with the situation.

"A Foreign Office spekesman today intimated that Japanese action, in the event of the Chinese non-compliance, would probably take the form of occupation of the demilitarized zone for the purpose of maintaining order. He expressed doubt whether the occupation would include fients in and Peiping. However, inclusion of these cities within a new demilitarized zone is possible if the incident takes a serious or protracted turn.

"The present move was not sudden, as Japanese military leaders for some time have expressed
grawing dissatisfaction over the alleged failure of
the Chinese to carry out the letter and spirit of the
Tangku truce. So far the Japanese Foreign Office
has made no representations to Nanking, the matter
being considered exclusively military.

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"Chinese Face Ultimatum.

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"The removel of General Yu Hsueh-chung,

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Governor of Hopei Province (whose capital is Tientsin), and of Chang Ting-as, Mayor of Tientsin.

"The abolition of the Peiping branch of the Chinese military affairs commission.

"The transfer elsewhere of all troops under direct Nanking control or under generals formerly owing allegiance to Marshel Chang Hsueh-liang,

"The abolition of the Chinese gendarmerie headquarters in Peiping, which are under the direct control of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

"The maintenance of peace and order in the Peiping-Tientsin area by means of peace preservation corps and militia.

"The complete abolition or rigid curtailment of the city branches of the Kuomintang (National People's party, in power in Nanking) in Peiping and Tientsin.

"The abolition of pelitical training cen- . ters maintained by the Kuomintang, and the removal, of the headquarters of all secret terrorist societies, such as the Blue Shirts.

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THE PRESIDENT: Colonel Woolworth, when you began to read this document we treated it as a series of news items in which there would be statements by the accused, or some of them, or statements by those associated with them, but to a very large extent there are no such statements.

MR. WOOLWORTH: There are some appearing throughout these items as we go along. There is a statement at the time of the activities c. the accused MINAMI and the accused UMEZU.

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MR. WOOLWORTH: Very well, sir.

I will read from page 6:

(Reading) "Shanghai, June 5. - Japanese military authorities at Tientsin today cancelled departure orders for all troops scheduled to return to Japan June 15 upon the expiration of their enlistment terms. Major-General Yosjiro UMEZU; chief commander of the Japanese garrison, issued the order. He stated that the cancellation of leave was due to 'a critical situation existing.'"

I read the sixth paragraph of the same page:

(Reading) "In addition to the forces at Tientsin, the Japanese now have one brigage stationed within the demilitarized zone northeast of Peiping. In the event hostilities develop, now regarded as practically inevitable, all the Japanese forces of North China will be placed under the commend of the Kwantung army, which controls the 'puppet regime' of Manchukuo. They are commanded by General Jiro MINAMI, who serves concurrently as

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"New Japanese troops are expected to arrive June 12."

THE PRESIDENT: That adds nothing whatever to what we have already heard about the Japanese attitude toward China.

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MR. WOOLWORTH: I read from page 18 at the top of the page: 2 "A dispetch from Hsinking, Manchoukuo, said 3 that orders to place Japan's war machine in Manchuria in readiness to roll southward across the Great Wall if China fails to submit to the ultimatum, were issued from the general headquarters of General Jiro MANIMI, Japanese Military Chief in Manchoukuo." I will read from page 19 at the top of the page: "JAPAN ARMY GETS SECRET ORDERS IN CHINA ROW. 10 11 TIENTSIN AND PEIPING FACT OCCUPATION. 12 "Tokyo Orders all demands for clearing region 13 be complied with --14 THE MONITOR: Mr. Prosecutor, the last paragraph 15 you have just read has not been translated by the Inter-16 national Prosecution Section and we have no prepared text. 17 Shall we do it by relay? 18 MR. WOOLWORTH: Yes. I will read one paragraph. 19 THE MONITOR: Just one paragraph? 20 MR. "OOLWORTH: Yes. 21 THE MONITOR: Will the Court Reporter read the 22 passage just read by the prosecutor? (Wheraupon, the official court re-24 porter read the last statement of the prosecutor 25

as follows):

"JAPAN ARMY GETS SECRET ORDERS IN CHINA ROW. TIENTSIN AND PEIPING FACE OCCUPATION.

"Tokyo orders all demands for clearing region be complied with--"

THE MONITOR: Is that all?

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THE PRESIDENT: We are asting much time about material which many of us, if not all of us, think has little or no value.

MR. WOOLWORTH: Very well, sir.

The prosecution offers in evidence document 18(9, excerpts from interrogation of General MINAMI, Juro.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 18(9 will receive exhibit No. 2207.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2207 and received in evidence.)

MR. T. OKAMOTO: I should like to ask for the leave of the Court to point out some other errors, although I know it is rather armoying, because the matter is important.

Tenth line from the top of page 2, the answer there reads: "From 30 March 1944 until 15 August 1945." However, it should read: "From 30 March 1945", instead of "1944", "until 15 August 1945". It is obvious accordingly if you look up the personal history of General MINAMI attached to the Indictment.

Then the eleventh line, next page, it reads: "and did not go East of this aforementioned

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river." However, it should read: "did not go West" instead of "East". It may well be said that the whole text of the translation is incoherent as it was translated by someone who cannot distinguish East from West.

THE PRESIDENT: We will refer the matter to the Language Section. In the meantime, read it.

HF. WOOLWORTH: "Q. ****When Vice Chief of Staff at the time the Sainan Incident took place ... was quick in action and notable in decision. He adopted a strong attitude when the incident broke out. He at once ordered troops to Shantung for the second time. Is that statement true which I have just repeated to you from that book?

"A. That was under the orders of the Chief of Starf and the TANAKA Ca inet which decided that troops should be sent to Shantung *****.

"Q. Do you recall a speech you delivered about the 4th of August 1931 to Army Commanders and Commanding Generals of Divisions at the War Miristry?

"A. Yes.

"Q. Did you sav in the course of that speech, 'Guard Manchuria, our life line!'?

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	"A. I do not recall that statement, but
1	the sentiments are correct."
2	*****
3	". When did you take command of the Kwantung
4	Army?
5	"A. December, 1934.
6	"G. And you remained in command of that army
7	for upwards of two years?
9	"A. One year and three months
10	"C. How many troops did you have under vour
11	command in Manchuria at that time?
12	"A. About (0,000, I believe.
13	"Q. You were concurrently Amhassador to
14	Manchukuc while Commanding General of the Kwantung
15	Army, were you not?
16	"A. Yes. "
17	* * * * * * *
18	"Q. You had given General HONJO blanket
19	authority to take any action he saw fit in Manchuria
20	just prior to the Mukden incident?
21	"A. No. The Commander in Chief of the
22	Kwantung Army has this privilege and has had it for
23	over twenty-five years.
24	". Then he could take any war-like steps
25	he wanted over there under the prerogative of supreme

command? "A. Within the jurisdiction of his own 2 area he can do practically anything he wishes. 3 "(. And did you approve of the action he took? 5 "A. Yes." 6 General, you stated that you were a 8 member and President of the Greater Japan Political 9 10 Association? "A. Yes. 11 12 ". Now tell me, how long were you a member 13 of this society? I want the dates. 14 "A. From 30 Marc' 1944 until 15 August 1945. 15 "C. Now you said that one of the principal 16 aims of this society was to extend the Greater East 17 Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere? 18 "A. Essentially that right be termed oneo 19 of its principal aims ... " 20 * * * * * * * 21 "4. How far did you want to extend this 22 Co-Prosperity Sphere? To what geographical limits? 23 "A. Exactly as the Government had outlined. 24 "C. How was that?

"A. Asiatics.

To extend it over all Asia? 116. "A. Yes. 2 Under that you include India, Burma, "C 3 the Dutch Indies and the Philippines? "A. Yes. 5 "Q. You weren't concerned with how the proper 6 sovereignties felt about India, Burma, the Dutch Indies, China, or the Philippines? "A. Yes, I believed that Asiatics wished to 9 be freed of the yoke of foreign domination. 10 "G. General, you believed then in Asia for 11 Asiatics. 12 "A. Yes." 13 14 While you were Minister of War in 1931 15 the Japanese Army waged war upon China, did they not? 16 "A. Yes." 17 "A. We concluded our engagements at the 18 Ryoga River in 1931 and subsequent to that consolidated 19 20 the territory 21 What do you mean by coordinating your mQ. 22 position?

(General MINAMI showed on a map he drew

that the South Manchuria Pailroad ran from Harbin to

the Chinese border and the Ryoga River cut the territory

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"A.

of Manchuria more or less in half.)

"At the time I was War Minister we were guarding the route of the railway and did not go East of this aforementioned river. Now when I was Commander in Chief of the Kwantung Army, the whole of Manchuria had been occupied and was now Manchukuo. Certain units of the Army may have crossed over the Chinese border in skirmishes, but the Army as such never took part in any engagements.

"Q. As Ambassador to Manchukuo, what were vour principal duties?

"A. To preserve the independence of Manchuria.

"Q. Your Army occupied practically all of Manchukuc then, did it not?

"A. Yes.

"Q. And some of your troops went beyond the great wall?

"A. Yes."

"C. What did you have to do with the government of Manchukuo at that time?

"A. Essentially I advised them on such matters as agriculture, transportation, education, etc.

"Q. And your advice was accepted, I suppose?

"A. Yes.

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a direction, was it not?

"A. You might say so. -- Yes."

This concludes the additional evidence against the defendant MINAMI.

This is in regard to General UMEZU.

UMEZU, while Vice Minister of War, was the leader of the military clique which was responsible for the failure of General UGAKI to form a new cabinet in January, 1937 by refusing to name a War Minister. This usurpation of authority by the military to make and unmake cabinets gave them practically control over Japan's governmental policy.

In March, 1935, he was appointed Commander of the Japanese Army stationed in China. There, in conjunction with General MINAMI, then Commanding General of the Kwantung Army, and with the approval of the War Ministry, he engineered the taking over of North China and establishment of the North China Autonomous Government.

He was the author of the well-known HO-UMEZU Agreement of 10 June 1935 which resulted in the with-drawal of Chiang Kai-shek's forces from North China.

Prosecution will now offer dccuments in proof of the above facts.

The prosecution offers for identification only document No. 1144, which is "Details Regarding Movement of Rightist Bodies in Connection with the Change of Government," published by the Peace Section, Police Bureau, Home Ministry, April, 1937, and offers in evidence document No. 1144-A, which is an excerpt from pages 5 to 8 of that document.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLEFA (F THE COURT: Prosecution document

No. 1144 will receive exhibit No. 2208 for

identification only, and the excerpts therefrom,

document No. 1144-A, will receive exhibit No. 220°-A.

(Whereupon, the documents above referred to were respectively marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2208 for identification and prosecution's exhibit No. 2208-A in evidence.)

MR. WOOLWORTH: The prosecution will now read exhibit 2208-A.

(Reading) "Declaration issued by the SEIYUKAI Pary Mass Meeting (20th of January 1937)

"Excerpt from pages 5-8 of 'Details Regarding Movements of Fightist Bodies in Connection with Change of Government' published by Peace Section, Police Bureau, Home Ministry, April 1937.

"Owing to the mu tiplicity of the Government's

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diplomatic policy, it is not clear where responsibilities rest. Foreover, the Government has persistently adhered to secret diplomacy, originating in bureaucratic self-complacency, thereby failing to carry out national diplomacy characteristic of a Modern State. The purport of the JAPAN-GERMAN Pact was defence against the Comintern, which desires to destroy our State organization through Communism. But the Government bungled the matter so as to cause other Powers to suspect the formation of a rightist, dictatorial State. The Government can never be absolved from responsibility for di-lomatic failure as to procedure, time and method in concluding the Pact. Our Party is very anxious about the matter, and herein lies the reason why we are going to seek thorough clarification of the matter at the Diet.

"The Government formulated many plans dogmatically concluding that a semi-wartime organization
is necessary. If those plans, however, discourage
industrial development and result in a menace to
national livelihood, the nation will turn from its
present attitude to grudge and resentment against
the Government, and laxity of national spirit will
be caused thereby. Our Party is determined to subject
Government plans to strict examination in the Diet,

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and rectify their demerits relentlessly.

of electric power and the extension of compulsory education period products of all-out administrative reform. Our Party is willing to agree to the Government's claim in principle. But pure bureaucratic control of economy is harmful without being useful in any way. Autonomous control should be encouraged, with State cortrol exercised when necessary. Only thus may free progress be promoted.

"It has long been our desire to clevate the educational level of the nation. Which is more urgent, however, the extension of the period or the repletion of the substance? Moreover, necessity of sweeping reforms in the educational system has for many years been the public opinion of the nation. If the Government disregards it at this time, it will bring discredit on civil administration. Measures adopted by the present Cabinet are not generally based or the nation, but are influenced by the dogmatic prejudices of the bureaucrats and the military.

"The bureaucrats are wedded to self-complacency.

The Military are overflowing with superiority complex.

And they want to interfere in every sphere of State

function. If this evil grows the will of the people

will be prevented from free realization, constitutional government become nominal, and oligarchic tyranny introduced. This, we fear, is contrary to the fundamental principles of our State, which are based, on the whole upon the national allegiance to the single Sovereign, and betrays the principle that the civil and military services should keep to their respective duties. We herewith intend to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, strengthen parliamentary politics with solemn determination, to devise a new departure for our Party to forge ahead to regeneration and to make strenuous efforts day and night, thereby to requite Imperial favour and to serve the State."

Prosecution offers in evidence document No. 1144P, en excerpt from exhibit 2208.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 1144B will receive exhibit No. 2208B.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 2208B and received in evidence.)
MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading)

"Details Regarding Movements of Rightist
Bodies in Connection with Change of Government /T.N.
Cabinet Changes/.

"Peace Section, Police Bureau, Home Ministry.
"Views expressed by Army authorities.

"(Night of 21st January 1937)

"Under the prevailing atmosphere it is absolutely impossible to discuss any all-out administrative reform with the present day political parties.

The political parties make it their sole business to attack the military authorities all the time without reflecting on their own conduct. The political parties are advocating an all-out administrative reform, but they do not possess any concrete plans. The only plans they have are of a negative nature and are inclined to the maintenance of the status quo. An

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ell-out administrative reform to create a Conservative (Retrogressive) Japan runs completely counter to the loud cry for an all-out administrative reform that crose immediately after the February 26th Incident. Such a reform is like crying wine and selling vineger, and our 100,000,000 competriots cannot possibly be satisfied with same. Has not a positive wholesale dministrative reform simed at the existence and expension of our people, with the Empire /T.N. Japan/ as the stabilizing power of Fast Asia, always been the very cry of our 100,000,000 competriots? Would not the shandonment of a positive policy imply being premped up within Insular Japan? Could we thereby ever fulfill the heaven-ordained mission of the Yamato Race? We agree indeed to a positive all-out administrative reform as the general will of the people, but we cannot agree to a negative all-out administrative reform. Ought we not to get rid of the present state of Parliament that has hitherto given itself up to party interest and party politics and ignored national interests and the welfare of the people, and return to true parliamentary politics conforming to the Constitution, and, hand in hand, elerify the national polity, develop industry, complete national defence, stabilize the living of the people, and steadily dispose of important questions? That was expected to

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come has /T.N. finally/ come; that is, the collision between the /T.N. advocates of the/ status quo and /T.N. the advocates of/ the destruction of the status quo. Japan stands now at the turning-point where she should realize a positive all-out administrative policy in order to overcome the present difficulties and tide over the existing international crisis."

Prosecution offers in evidence document No. 1144C, being excerpts from exhibit 2208.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

1144C will receive exhibit No. 2208C.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2208C and received in evidence.)

MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading)

"Publication of War Minister TERAUCHI's Talk. (8:25 p.m. 23rd)

political situation which differ from my beliefs, I took steps for presenting my resignation yesterday, the 22nd. There are said to be some people who say that Mr. HAMADA's speech is the cause of matters having come to this stage, but that is not the reason at all. It is because I ascertained the fact that the

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views on the /T.N. present/ situation by the party which has some members sitting as cabinet members for the purpose of cooperating with the execution of the policy of the present cabinet, differ fundamentally with ours. This is clear in view of the declaration made at their porty meeting prior to the opening of the Diet session, the speech of the party leader, the speech of the party representative on the first day when the Diet reconvened after the recess, the atmosphere in the House, etc. I think it is utterly impossible to tide over the present situation by temporizing under compromise between those who fundamentally vary in their cognition of the present signation. In short, under such circumstances, I believe it to be absolutely impossible to enforce military discipline, the completion of national defence, an all-out administrative reform, etc., to which I have exerted my utmost efforts since I took office. This is why I have humbly tendered my resignation /T.N. to His Majesty./"

Prosecution offers in evidence document No. 1144D being extracts from exhibit 2208, "Talk by General UMEZU, Vice War Minister."

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLIRK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 1144 D will receive exhibit No. 2208D.

(Whereupon, the document above

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referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2208D and received in evidence.)

MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading)

"(P.M. 27th January 1937)

"Whether General UGAKI would accept the
Imperial mandate or not depends upon the attitude of
General UGAKI's Office for the Cabinet Formation, and
as for the Army it will not call any particular meetingnor take any measures to check the formation of a
cabinet by General UGAKI. As you know the Army is
just watching calmly the development of the situation.
Rumour is circulating among the public that General
UGAKI is persistently trying to continue the work of
cabinet formation even by resorting to drastic measures,
and because of this the nation is feeling great unrest.

by those who still do not understand the real intentions of the Army or by those who for certain purposes dere to avoid understanding. The Army firmly believe that such malicious rumour has not been uttered from the mouth of General UGAKI himself and it is clear that a cabinet which has been formed unreasonably is not the best one.

"Viewing the objective situation, the formation of a cabinet by General UGAKI is now most difficult and it can't be imagined that General UGAKI who is

supposed to be a great statesman would resort to a temporizing measure even at the expense of sacrificing his dignity. I, therefore, firmly believe that he would respectfully decline, and that his attitude would be such as that he as a General, a great superior Army officer, would decline peacefully not leaving the Army in the lurch but obtaining true understanding of the Army's standpoint and sympothizing with their real intentions.

people are doubtful of the Army's real intention since the Army has not published the reasons till today as to why it is so strongly opposed towards General UG/KI, and to my great regret I still cannot disclose openly the true state of affairs.

"And yet if you look back upon the Army's determination for the maintenance of discipline through purge which was carried out resolutely at the expense of many victims as well as upon the results gained thereby, the reasons for the general will of the Army having stood against General UGAKI would naturally be understood. Although I cannot disclose the true state of affairs right now, a word may be given to the effect that the objection is a result of full consideration by the whole Army united for the sake of completion of

the maintenance of discipline and the control of the circles /T.N. cliques/. Therefore it was against General UGAKI himself that the Army raised an objection and the policy to be announced by General UGAKI was not in question. I firmly believe, without mentioning those who are indifferent to the maintenance of discipline and control of the circles /T.N. cliques/ that anyone who has an ardent wish for these would surely be good enough to understand an approve the Army's present attitude."

Prosecution desires to introduce in evidence document No. 11442 which is a notice to the ex-soldiers organizations from Vice War Minister UMEZU, out of exhibit 2208.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 1144E will receive exhibit No. 2208E.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2208F and received in evidence.)

MR. WOOLWORTH: (Reading)

"Notice to the Fx-Soldiers Organizations from Vice Var Minister (Umezu).

"Matter pertaining to the measures taken by the Army authorities in connection with the present political changes.

"1) Summary of Development.

"On receipt of the report that the Imperial mandate had been given to General UGAKI on the evening of 24th January (Sunday), the Army established the view that now they are making progress toward the maintenance of military discipline that from an importial and really fair standpoint whoever might be nominated as War Minister on behalf of the Cabinet headed by General UGAKI, he would not be capable of bearing the heavy responsibility of controlling the Army because the formation of the cabinet by General UGAKI who had been alleged to have some connection with a certain incident while he was occupying the post of War Minister and widely believed to be a responsible person for the clan struggle among the Army, would make it more difficult to maintain military discipline and moreover there is much fear that the control of the Army would greatly be embarrassed.

"In view of the above, the war Minister when he received a visit from General UGAKI at 4 p.m. on 25th (Monday) for recommendation of a succeeding war Minister, replied to the effect that although the Army would not dore to check the formation of a cabinet by General UGAKI, the Army would ask him to fully consider his behaviour from the standpoint of the Army

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maintenance and control.

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"At 11 a.m. on 26th (Tuesday), the Inspector-General of Military Education SUGIYAMA called on General UGAKI and asked further consideration giving full explanation of the situation within the Army. In the afternoon of the same day, the three Chiefs' meeting was held to decide a choice of candidates for succeeding War Minister in accordance with General UGAKI's request for recommendation, but none of the candidates accepted the post in view of the fact that eh would not be able to fulfill the duty of War Minister in the present situation, and they came to the conclusion that others besides the candidates would also feel the same. Therefore, the War Minister called on General UGAKI at 5:30 p.m. on the same day to reply accordingly.

"At about 11 a.m. on 28th (Thursday), the ar Minister received a call from Seitoku IMAIDA but replied according to the above-mentioned point. Thus since nobody was willing to accept the post of war Minister for the UGAKI cabinet, General UGAKI finally respectfully declined the Imperial mandate.

"2) Regarding the Army's attitude for the present political situation.

"As explained in the above-mentioned develorment

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the Army's behaviour in the present political situation is based on its inmost hope to complete the control end maintenance of the Army in order to disply the true feature of the Imperial Army, and the measures were moderate and legal; there existed absolutely no such fact as would impinge upon the Imperial prerogative and the replies to General UGAKI were given with every mark of respect and left no room for criticism." THE PRESIDENT: We will adjourn until half past one. (Whereupon, st 1200, a recess was taken.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess at 1330.

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International

Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Tavenner.

MR. TAVENNER: Mr. President and Members of the Tribunal, IPS document No. 646 shows the transfer of large secret funds from the Manchurian Incident Expenditure Account to the accused TOJO and UMEZU. I offer it in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution document

No. 646 will receive exhibit No. 2209.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2209 and received in evidence.)

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: If the Court please, I wish to object to the introduction of this document for its lack of probative value standing alone, and to ask also that the title designating certain funds be checked for correct translation, as there are several related documents dealing with funds in which the word "kimitsuhi" appears, and has been translated in

several instances as "secret service funds." This, we contend, is an error, and the defense states that the meaning of this word implies a fund without accountability for official use for entertainment or special expenses similar to our "general staff officers funds," and that the mere transfer of funds to an official of these capacities designated does not have any probative value as to the use thereof. I would like to also add, if the Tribunal please, that the defendant KOISO is not named in this document or the position he held either.

THE PRESIDENT: This document, like other documents, has been admitted for whatever probative value it has. There is no reason for rejecting it instanter. What effect we will give to it we will determine later when we consider it.

The language question will be referred to the board of reference.

We note what Captain Brooks says about KOISO.

MR. TAVENNER: Page 2 of exhibit No. 2209 appears to be in the nature of an authorization or receipt, which is endorsed by a number of officials. I will read only the caption and the names of those of the accused whose names are signed to this document.

"Transfer of secret funds from the Manchurian Incident Expenditure Account, 13 April 13th year of Showa, 13 April 1938. Vice-Minister UMEZU," followed by his seal.

I will now read page 3 of the document:
"Draft of Notification to the Chief of the
Extraordinary Army Intendance Section in Tokyo,
'Riku Man Mitsu' /Military Manchuria Secret/.

"Secret funds from the Manchurian Incident Expenditure Account shall be transferred upon disbursement as follows:

"Items:

"To TOJO, Hideki, the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army: 700,000 yen."

I will omit reading the next item.

"To UMEZU, Yoshijiro, Vice-Minister of War: 77,800 yen.

"Riku Man Mitsu No. 134 / Army Manchuria Secret/ 6 April Showa 13 /1938/"

of this? We know that the Japanese had an army in Manchuria and that it involved expenditure from Japanese funds; and we know who were the army heads in Manchuria, and it would follow that any expenditure would be disbursed through them, wouldn't it? Has

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it any greater significance, Mr. Tavenner?

MR. TAVENNER: We anticipate that it may, your Honor. If we were certain that it had no greater significance than your Honor has indicated we would not have had the document processed. These do not appear to be ordinary military expenditures. However, the extent to which the evidence may go in showing what they are is a matter on which we will have to await further developments, and I cannot at this time make any statement with respect to that.

MR. BROOKS: If the Court please, the document on its face shows that it is a large numbered page of several documents, and they are, as can be readily ascertained if the prosecution wishes, complete records of all the financial transactions of the army, including this.

MR. TAVENNER: IPS document No. 2900 is a similar record relating to the payment of money to the accused KOISO. I offer it in evidence.

MR. BROOKS: If the Tribunal please, I would like to make the same objection to this document and ask that the word here appearing be also checked with the translation section; and I would call the prosecution's attention that there are other documents that he can very well ascertain that the 20,000 yen of

KOISO as Vice-Minister of War on page 2 is set down for entertainment funds for the parties of that Ministry.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, on the basis of Mr. Tavenner's answer to your Honor's question with respect to the last document, it is quite apparent that neither this nor the previous document has any probative value, it is purely speculative, and the previous document should be stricken and this document now offered should not be permitted to be introduced in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: I made an inquiry and received a reply which did not warrant the rejection of the document. The objection taken by Captain Brooks and by Mr. Logan is overruled. The document is admitted on the usual terms.

CLEAK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 2900 will receive exhibit No. 2210.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2210 and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER: I will rend from page 2 of exhibit No. 2210.

"20,000 yen to KOISO, Kuniaki, Vice-Minister of War."

IPS document 2907 is a similar record relating to an additional payment to KOISO. I offer it in evidence.

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MR. BROOKS: Same objection, your Honor.

THE PRESIDENT: Objection overruled.

Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 2907 will receive exhibit No. 2211.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2211 and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER: I will read from page 2 of exhibit 2211.

"18,500 yen to Kuniaki KOISO, the Vice-Minister of War."

IPS document No. 2896 is a similar record relating to the payment of money to the accused UNE ZU. I offer it in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

IR. BROOKS: If the Court please, I would like to enter the same objection, and also point out in connection with this that KOISO, at the date of this instrument, was in Korea during this period for a little over a year as Commander-in-Chief of the Korean Army.

THE PRESIDENT: Objection overruled.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 2896 will receive exhibit No. 2212.

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(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2212 and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER: I will read from page 2 of exhibit 2212.

"Disburse from the Manchurian Incident funds, secret expenditures as follows:

"To: Vice-Minister of War Yoshijiro UMEZU, 150,830 yen. Riku-man-mitsu No. 85. Army-Manchuria-Secret. March 8, 1938."

relating to the payment of money to the accused UMEZU.

I beg your pardon, I have introduced that document.

relating to the payment of money to KOISO. I offer it in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

MR. BROOKS: May the same objection be

noted for the record.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 2922 will receive exhibit No. 2213.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosection's exhibit No. 2213 and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER: I read from page 2 of this exhibit.

"Disburse from Monchurian Incident Funds, Secret Expenditures as follows:

"December 27, 1933.

"To: Chief of Staff, Kwantung Army, KOISO, Kuniaki, 1,970,000.00 yen."

MR. BROOKS: If the Court please, I would like to call attention to the center of page 2, where this fund was turned over "as required by your Armies up to the end of the current year have been disbursed from the Manchurian Incident Funds." And the records previously referred to show that it was used for the suppression of bandits. .

MR. TAVENNER: Prosecution document No. 4043-G is a--

THE PRESIDENT: Observe the red light, Mr. Tavenner.

MR. TAVENNER: Thank you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Lr. UZAWA.

DR. UZAWA: Mr. President, may I have the Court's permission for Mr. MIMACHI, Associate Counsel for the defendant KOISO, to address this Court in the absence of Mr. SAMMONJI, Chief Counsel for the defendant KOISO?

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THE PRESIDENT: He can only take an objection if one is open.

I understand he wishes to take an objection.

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MR. MIMACHI: I object to the introduction of this document on the following grounds. In the first part of this document we find the words, "meeting between KOISO and ITAGAKI," but in the next twelve lines we can find no mention of this supposed meeting between KOISO and ITAGAKI at all.

Next, we find the words printed on top of page 2: "Raw Material - For personal information only -Without editorial guarantee." Besides these, besides showing itself in this manner as being a very irresponsible document we find four lines before the end of the page the following translator's note: "ARITA," and then, "/T.N.: sic; error for KOISO?/." The defendant KOISO says that since he was not Foreign Minister he never made such a statement. Therefore he believes that it was Foreign Minister ARITA but this document does not show whether it was ARITA or KOISO. Therefore I must say that this document has no probative value.

Furthermore, the prosecution in its last phase shows no signs of presenting any documents which will prove this document. In connection with this I would like to object -- I would like to say that we defense counsel have taken great pains in drawing up our motions to dismiss. After being written they must

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be typewritten, stencils must be cut and they must be mimeographed. After we have drawn up these motions, when documents like this document which have very little probative value are submitted, it causes us great trouble -- great inconvenience. May I have the consideration of the Court on this matter?

THE PRESIDENT: Many of the matters mentioned are matters for the defense to give evidence of when their turn comes. The other objections raised go not to admissibility at all but to weight only. What you say will be noted but the document will be admitted on the usual terms and the objection is overruled.

MR. BROOKS: Will the Court allow the language section to check the translation of the name "KOISO" or "ARITA" and see which is correct?

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document No. 4043-G will receive exhibit No. 2214.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked presecution's exhibit No. 2214 and received in evidence.)

THE PRESIDENT: Only one counsel will be heard on behalf of each accused.

MR. TAVENNER: I will read this document:
"Tokyo, 8 May. - Domei Radio presents an
ITAGAKI-KOISO interview.

welcome fact that Germany and Italy had bound themselves through their military alliance still more firmly to the maintenance of peace in their joint efforts to build up a New Order in Europe. ITAGAKI ascribed the confusion of the European situation to the lack of equilibrium between old and new rising Powers. Asked whether the possibility existed that Japan might enter the Italo-German Military Alliance, ITAGAKI declared that the spirit which animated the conclusion of the Tri-lateral Anti-Pact was very deeply rooted and in case for that reason Germany and Italy wanted it it was not impossible that Japan might conclude a military alliance with the Axis Powers. * * *

"Minister of Colonies KOISO stated that apparently negotiations directed toward the conclusion of a military alliance among the three Axis powers were being conducted. As a private observation KOISO stated: 'Whether such negotiations lead to the goal or not depends entirely upon whether Germany and Italy understand Japan's point of view and power in East Asia as well as their own position in Europe.' He stated further that it would be suitable for Japan to cooperate with Germany and Italy in the execution of

"9 May 1939.

her policies, while it would not only not be suitable but downright dangerous for Germany and Italy to attempt to carry out their policies vis-a-vis the encirclement measures of their opponents without the closest cooperation with Japan, the strongest power in East Asia. The difficulties are constantly causing the lack of mutual understanding, explained KOISO further. Therefore it lay in Japan's interest, as well as Italy's and Germany's for Germany and Italy to understand not only their own position but also that of Japan and her point of view in the Far East. Nearly all Japanese had more knowledge of Germany and German affairs than the Germans of Japan and Japanese affairs. Japan was convinced, ARITA" -- and there appears a translator's note -- (/T.N.: sic; error for KOISO?/) emphasized, of the 'necessity of further strengthening of the Anti-Pact' in view of Japan's earlier experiences and present position in order to be able to face the international situation from 'Japan's own standpoint.' As for the Roosevelt Message, ARITA declared that this was a dual-purpose action, namely, first as a domestic political gesture and second as a measure to inflame world public against Germany and Italy. Finally having been directed to the China conflict, ARTITA emphasized that Japan's

historic and racial mission lay in the establishment of a New Order in East Asia in closest cooperation with China and Manchoukuo, although third powers were trying to bring into discredit Japan's military actions in China."

THE PRESIDENT: That is a document brought from Germany, we notice.

MR. TAVENNER: Yes, sir; a German captured document.

THE PRESIDENT: If the defense question any translation, they may refer the matter direct to the board of reference without mentioning it in Court.

MR. TAVENNER: I offer in evidence prosecution document No. 2954, which is an excerpt taken from the minutes of the Second Joint Conference of Sections I, II, III, and IV of the Committee of Accounts of the House of Representatives, 75th Session of the Imperial Diet.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution document No. 2954 will receive exhibit No. 2215.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2215 and received in evidence.)

MR. TAVENNER: It relates to proceedings on 17 March, 1940. This document reflects the views of the accused, KOISO, with regard to Japanese expansion in the South and shows that he participated in the planning of the Japanese program.

I will read this document:

"Extracts from minutes (Shorthand) of Second Joint Conference of Sections I, II, III and IV of the Committee of Accounts of the House of Representatives.

"As for instance, as regards Davao in the Philippines, the population has not decreased so much"--I would like to begin over. This is a state-

ment by Committee-Man FUKUDA, which is finally answered

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by KOISO; so, I begin with the statement by FUKUDA.

"As for instance, as regards Davao in the Philippines, the population has not decreased so much although approximately over thirty-five years have elapsed till the present day. Moreover, business is reported as flourishing, and those engaged this day in the cultivation of hemp are said as not having used fertilizers even once during thirty years'time. For instance, in the Lake Tondano/phonetic/ region in Celebes, in the experience of more than ten years in cultivating rice, they have had three crops annually, without using any fertilizer at all, which, if used even for once, would spoil everything. There are such places as these which are indeed inconceivable from the agricultural viewpoint of the Japanese. How about then going ahead and seizing those places? Of course, we cannot do so; nevertheless, the development of the Southern Regions would not necessarily be an impossibility, if we should be prepared to suffer such hardships as in dealing with Manchuria or Russia, or if we possess an equal amount of determination, effort and financial power as required in overcoming the difficulties of the North China Incident. Such being the case, we believe that Japan will be confronted with considerable difficulties unless the Minister of State/T.N. KOISO/ would carry out a drastic

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reform in the national policy in such a way as to make some two-fold policy -- one phase being for defense, and the other for advance. Now, as for Taiwan /T.N. Formosa/ or the South Sea Islands Government Office /T.N. Nanyo-Cho !/ they were able to become independent either shortly after its occupation or its inauguration of government. As regards Chosen and Manchuria -- though Manchuria is an independent nation, Japan is at present obliged to defray enormous sums of money in accordance with armament and other agreements. This may possibly last for scores of years to come. In the case of Chosen, which was the first to be annexed to Japan, not only has she as yet been unable to become independent, but enormous subsidies have to be granted to her. Such are the conditions even in so nice a place like Chosen. I wish to state that it is all the more unnatural to send farmers -- constituting Japan's higher-class labour -to North Manchuria where even coolies and Koreans are unable to go. The policy that they must be sent over is all very fine, but, as that kind of unnaturalness is very hard to overcome, I wish you to kindly give your consideration to this point, and our national policies in the future should be such that whatever difficulties may crop up, -- we are the people that could endure many years of difficulties and hardships as we have been

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since we started the so-called Sino-Japanese Incident of today -- if we have the determination to go through hardships, we shall find the true treasure house on the Southern Pacific, where probably 200 times as much coal, gold, silver, iron and petroleum as found in the whole of China. If Japan should have such resources, she would no longer have to suffer from her pres nt plight of being unable to wage a war as she would like just because of the scarcity of resources. Such being the case, we must, for the sake of establishing the national policy of the State, Lave a fundamental change made at this juncture in the traditional national policy of the past. We are extremely pleased at the fact that Minister of State KOISO has, at Cabinet Conferences and the like, expressed his opinion several times fairly strongly in that line or dwelling upon the policy in that line. So, although things may not go so easily as I say -- although it would be splendid if they did -- and things may be difficult, nevertheless even if we are to sacrifice a great deal of our national power, what is to follow could not be compared with the results of the efforts in Manchuria or China. We have been thinking this way. If peace is restored now, it is needless to say that Japan will suffer from over-population. As you have just mentioned, most of our farmers hold only five tans.

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(T.N. approximately 1.2 acres). As they own only that much of land, although we talk about family system in agricultural villages, children born in those villages must necessarily go out +- if there are five children, four of them, either male or female, must go out and get a job. The eldest son will be left behind and the rest must be abandoned as unnecessary if we wish to enable the Japanese nation to keep on living -- such is the actual condition in Japan's agricultural district today. This fact alone will make you realize that we shall suffer from over-population when peace is restored. What should we do about it? It is quite clear that we shall feed on each other and fall together if we stick to the fivetan-farming. We must establish a great national policy right now. Here lies the basis for our discussion. However, in regard to sending people over to Manchuria we have heard about your ideals of sending 200,000 or 1,000,000 families over there -- it can not be carried out very easily. Much money is spent with no results. Moreover, people are not interested in going in spite of our encouragement to go. I would like to tell you that unless you take into consideration, when establishing national policy, some place where people would by all means go even if they are told not to go rather than the place where people would go and come back, the

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great task of reviving Japan, of constructing Japan will never be accomplished. In regard to matters in this direction, the military so far have been concentrating too much upon the North. I wonder if this is not mistaken a little bit. I say, mistaken as Japan's national policy. I do not know what you would say from the viewpoint of national defense, but this is, I think, a little mistaken when we consider the great task of reviving Japan, of constructing Japan. Therefore, we must replace this with what we call / the principle of/ having both South and North as our objectives, and make utmost exertion toward the South. We must establish policies which will enable us to overcome the difficulties involved in the task."

"CHAIRMAN AOKI: Mr. FUKUDA, please state the gist of your opinion, as we have no more time.

"COMMITTEE-MAN FUKUDA: I hope the State
Minister will study further in that direction -- we have
become members of the committee for accounts and have
studied the enormous budget for the coming year of the
Ministry for Overseas Affairs. Even if you will make
extreme exertions, it will be impossible to achieve
hoped-for effect since it will be very difficult to have
any results at all, we had better take the n utral point,
and in the execution of this budget also we wish you to

direct your efforts to attaining the true object. As
the Ministry for Overseas Affairs has profound understanding as to the South regarding the matters of that
kind, and as we require great efforts of both Formosa
and the South Sea Government today, and as we expect you
to make development in the field of economics and others,
we would like to know what your opinions along that line
are. We should be much obliged if the Minister for
Overseas Affairs would inform us with his opinions
regarding those national policies."

"MINISTER OF STATE KOISO: I fully endorse Mr.

FUKUDA's remarks regarding having both North and South
as our objectives. The Ministry of Overseas Affairs is
also advocating the idea of having both North and South
as our objective. There is, however, a slight difference
in views in regard to the path to be followed and its
substance. In a nutshell, according to the opinion of
the Overseas Affairs Ministry who are to carry out the
idea of having both North and South as our objectives,
special emphasis is to be laid on the following points:
As towards the Continent, movement of population, which
must naturally be accompanied by economic development,
and as towards the South, economic expansion, which must
by all means be accompanied by movement of population,
as this is our way of thinking. Therefore, as regards

Continental Expansion, we consider movement of population as of primary importance, and economic expansion of secondary importance; whereas for Southern Expansion, we consider economic expansion as of primary importance and movement of population of secondary importance.

This is the idea on which we /T.N. the Overseas Affairs Ministry/ are proceeding along. Please note, nevertheless, that as regards the idea of having both North and South as our objectives, I am in full accord with Mr. FUKUDA's opinion."

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Colonel Mornane will now address the Court.

I beg your pardon, it will be Mr. Comyns Carr.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

MR. COMYNS CARR: May it please the Tribunal, first of all I have to ask the Tribunal to correct a misprint which has been detected in the Indictment in count 25. That count is based upon the same facts and evidence as count 52. In count 52 the list of accused is correctly printed and the last name is "TOJO," but in count 25 the last name has been printed as "TOGO," which is incorrect. We ask you to amend count 25 by substituting the name of "TOJO" for "TOGO."

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Blewett.

MR. BLEWETT: If the Court please, it looks like it may be an error, a clerical error; however, the matter has not been brought to our attention until just a few moments previously and we feel almost under an obligation to make an objection to save ourselves on the record.

MR. COMYNS CARR: The accused TOJO would not be in any sense taken by surprise or prejudiced because he already knew that he had to meet the same facts under the charges in count 52.

MR. BLEWETT: If the Court please, we have noticed this in drawing up our motion for dismissal

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and have already referred to it therein.

THE PRESIDENT: Technically until now TOJO did not know that count 25 was directed at him; that is to say, after over eight months.

MR. BLEWETT: I recollect, sir, I took advantage of that in my motion to dismiss and also in all my references to the various counts called attention to 25 and asked that he be -- that the defendant be relieved from any responsibility under 52 on that basis.

MR. LOGAN: Before the Tribunal rules on this we wish to enter a general objection to the prosecution amending the Indictment after issue has been joined. We know--

THE PRESIDENT: Substituting a new accused as regards that count after eight months.

MR. LOGAN: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Right at the end of the prosecution's case; however, it is a matter that ... we should seriously consider among ourselves before we come to any decision. We will reserve our decision on that point, Mr. Carr.

Mr. Tavenner.

MR. TAVENNER: If your Honor please, I would like for the record to show that exhibit 2215 was

introduced for identification only and that excerpts were taken from that document which were introduced in evidence, and that the record show that the correct number of the document which I read be No. 2215-A.

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THE PRESIDENT: What are you aski r me to do? I do not appreciate it you want me to do anything in particular?

MR. TAVENIER: I merely request that the Clerk so record it by direction of your Honor.

THE PRECIDENT: Is it clear to you, Mr Mantz?
CHERK OF THE COURT: Yes, your Honor.

(Thereupon, document No 2954, previously marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 2215 in evidence, was marked prosecution's exhibit No 2215 for identification; and the excerpt therefrom was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2215-A and received in evidence.)

THE PLESIDENT: Have you considered Count

35 to which my attention is directed by my colleagues?

MR. CCLYNS CALR: Yes, your Honor.

If amendment is granted, the reference in Count 35 would be to the defendants in Count 25 as amended, which is what it was originally intended to be.

THE PR SIDERT: That is if we decide to amend Count 25.

MH. CONYNS CARR: Yes.

The prosecution now offers in evidence documents all but one of which are excerpts from

interrogations of the defendant ARAKI. All these excerpts are from exhibits already admitted for identification on the 10 July 1940, pages 2215 and 2210 of the record.

The prosecution first offers in evidence IPS document No. 2342-B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2342, which is exhibit No. 187-L.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLURK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2342-B will receive exhibit No. 2216.

(Thereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2216 and received in evidence.)

MR. COMMNS CARR (Reading): "O. "That I mean is that the KONOYE Cabinet, or if the Premier KONOYE was not in favor of aggression in China, how did it happen that the Japanese forces were making progress in advancing?

what the Army does are two different things. I believe that the Army and Navy were in favor of aggression in China. KONOYE was not in favor of the aggression. However, since KONOYE was outnumbered two to one
I possibly think that the forces took the best of the
deal and made the aggression.

"Q. That do you mean -- outnumbered two to one?

"A. The Army and Navy within the Cabinet.

Yonai were in favor of advancing and they were Army and Navy members that their word went with the Emperor and not KONOYE's.

"A. Since forces cannot be sent overseas without

the consent of the War, Navy, Finance, Foreign Ministers and the Premier, I believe that it was approved by these Ministries that the China affair be carried through." The prosecution now offers in evidence IPS document No. 2344-B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2344 which is exhibit No. 187-N. THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms. 8 CLIRK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document 9 No. 2344-B will receive exhibit No. 2217. 10 ("hereupon, the document above re-11 ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit 12 No. 2217 and received in evidence.) 13 MR. CONVNS CARR: "O. I understand, elso, that after that resignation the General became a 16 member of what in "nglish is called the Cabinet Ad-17 visory Council which was established by an ordinance, an Imperial Ordinance of October 14, 1937? "A. I became a member of this Cabinet Advisory 19 Council at request of Prince KONOME who came to me for advice in connection with the China Incident. 21 22 "O. and that council was set up to advise 23 concerning the situation in China? 24 "A. Yes. 25 "O. How often did it meet?

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the consent of the War, Navy, Finance, Foreign Ministers
   and the Premier, I believe that it was approved by
   these Ministries that the China affair be carried
   through."
           The prosecution now offers in evidence IPS
  document No. 2344-B, being excerpts from IPS document
  No. 2344 which is exhibit No. 187-N.
           THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
           CLIRK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
   No. 2344-B will receive exhibit No. 2217.
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                 ("hereupon, the document above re-
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       ferred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
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       No. 2217 and received in evidence.)
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           MR. CONVNS CARR: "O. I understand, also,
  that after that resignation the General became a
16 member of what in "nglish is called the Cabinet Ad-
17 visory Council which was established by an ordinance,
18 an Imperial Ordinance of October 14, 1937?
            "A. I became a member of this Cabinet Advisory
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20 Council at request of Prince KONOME who came to me for
  advice in connection with the China Incident.
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            "O. ..nd that council was set up to advise
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   concerning the situation in China?
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           "A.
               Yes.
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                How often did it meet?
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"A. Once a week. That was in 1937 that you were appointed, 2 I believe? 3 "A. Yes. "O. And did you remain a member of that until you were made Minister of Education by Prince KONOYE? "A. Yes, I was a member until I was appointed. "O. Do you remember what date it was you became a member of the Advisory Council? 10 "A. Almost immediately after the formation 11 of the Cabinet Council. 12 - "O. And then after you were Minister of 13 Education you were again appointed to the same council 14 in 1940? 15 "A. I left the "ducation Ministry in 1939. 16 "O. Ind when were you made a member of the 17 Advisory Council again? 18 "A. I thin in September, 1939, I am not sure. 19 "O. Did you attend most of these meetings 20 when you were a member of this Council? 21 22 "A. It was compulsory to attend and I attended all the meetings once a week." 23 24

The prosecution now offers in evidence IPS document No. 2254-B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2254, which is exhibit No. 187-G.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLEAK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2254-B will receive exhibit No. 2218.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2218 and received in evidence.)

MR. McMANUS: If your Honor pleases, I call your Honor's attention that these are excerpts, however I shall not press my objection at this time, as your Honor has already ruled on the admissibility of these excerpts. I do request the Court, however, that in considering the motions to dismiss and also in considering this testimony that they read at least the interrogation of that particular day, which is the exhibit 187 and lettered "N" and so on, rather than just a page of excerpts.

THE PRESIDENT: We won't give the prosecution any direction. You will have ample scope for amendment or an the motions to read additional material.

MR. COMYNS CARN: heading exhibit 2218:

"Q When I was here on the 7th of this month,
I asked you this question: (heading) 'Then I

understand that when you were Minister of War you attended these meetings but when you were Minister of Education later, you did not attend the meetings concerning foreign affairs, ' and you answered as follows: (Reading) 'During my tenure of office as War Minister there were very few of these meetings to the best of my recollection, but during the time I held office as Minister of Education these matters were usually discussed at the usual cabinet meetings held once a week. Do you remember those answers?

"A Yes. When I was Minister of Education, I did not attend these meetings. If a question regarding foreign policy came up, this would be discussed at the usual cabinet meetings.

"Q And you were appointed Minister of Education in May, 1938, and held that position until August 29, 1929, and I understand then that important matters concerning foreign affairs were discussed at full cabinet meetings during that period?

"A At one time the Premier requested SUETSUGU, Nobumasa who was Home Minister, and myself to confer with him on the China question. It was decided to hold these meetings regularly but as my views and SUETSUGU's views differed so widely and we could not agree, it was decided after the second meeting to hold

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no more. I do not know whether SUETSUGU was requested to attend this meeting as Home Minister or as an Admiral.

"Q That is SUETSUGU who is dead now, who was Minister for Home Affairs?

"A Yes.

"Q I assume that the Prime Minister was the one who decided what foreign affairs were important enough to discuss in the full cabinet meetings, is that correct?"

"A Yes, that is correct.

"Q Did the Foreign Minister ever bring up a question as to foreign affairs for the full cabinet meeting to discuss?

"A Yes the foreign minister would also have to bring up the question at full meetings.

"Q And did the War Minister bring up such questions before the full cabinet meetings?

"A As this was during the China incident, and the War and Navy Ministers were deeply concerned, they would also bring up such questions before the full cabinet. However, matters of great importance to the foreign office, the War and Navy and Finance Ministries, were usually not put before the full cabinet meetings as interference by other ministers was not relished.

and matters were usually discussed by the respective ministers direct with the Prime Minister.

"Q That seems to contradict what you said up to now. Do I understand then that the full cabinet has nothing to do with decisions made?

"A Yes, the full cabinet was concerned with decisions made, but if the four principal ministers mentioned previously, and the Prime Minister decided on a line of policy, this would be pushed through the cabinet in spite of opposition.

"Q If there was opposition in the cabinet to a decision made by these four would a vote be taken on the question submitted?

"A No, a vote would not be necessary. The Prime Minister would request opinions from the other members, but when he had decided, the measure was put through. If that became impossible, the cabinet would fall, or the member opposing any measure up for discussion would resign."

The prosecution offers in evidence IPS document No. 2347-B, which is excerpts from IPS document No. 2347, which is exhibit No. 187-Q.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whoreupon, at 1445, a recess was

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taken until 1500, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far Fast is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

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MR. COMYNS CARR: The prosecution offers in evidence, in this order, IPS document No. 2253C and 2253B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2253 which is exhibit No. 187F.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

Are you going to read exhibit --

MR. COMYNS CARR: I beg your Honor's pardon.
I had not read that.

CLERK OF THE COURT: The last document which you introduced, prosecution document 2347B, was given exhibit No. 2219.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 2219 and received in evidence.)
MR. COMYNS CARR: That is right.
(Reading)

"Q Did the Cabinet, along about this time, in the fall of 1938, when in session, discuss the trouble with the United States over United States rights in China, if you remember?

"A I do not remember any discussions of these things took place. It must have been the Foreign Minister and the War and Navy Ministers.

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"Q Well, this is the rejection of the United States' protest. Now, if war had ensued on this account, do you think that the blame would have been entirely on the Foreign Minister and could the Cabinet have said it was not its fault that war took place?

"A No, the Cabinet could be held responsible for the outbreak of the war. If there was actual danger of war breaking out, the matter would be discussed thoroughly in the Cabinet.

"Q I understand then, General, that you were on the Cabinet here, and a statement was made for which, under the Constitution, the Cabinet ought to be responsible, to a friendly power, and you didn't approve the statement, had nothing to do with its issuance, and yet under the Constitution were responsible for that statement and whatever happened by reason of its issuance. Is that correct?

"A As a member of the Cabinet, and according to the Constitution, I could be held responsible. If there had actually been denger of war breaking out as as a result of this defiance, the matter would certainly have come up for discussion and judgment in the Cabinet. Around 1938, I had several talks with three British Ambassadors, namely, Lyndley, Clive,

and Craigie. Also with Major Pigott, Military
Attache to the British Embassy. In my conversations,
I always advocated that Japan, the United States and
England should work together and establish the foundations for a peaceful world. With such views, I am
certain that if a matter such of the defiance of the
United States had come up, I would have had plenty
to say. Perhaps it was not considered a very important matter at the time.

"Q Let me ask you, General, if in 1938 or 1939, while you were in the Cabinet, there ever was a discussion of the friction between the United States and Japan on account of America's claims that her treaty rights were being violated in China by Japan.

"A No, I do not remember this ever having been discussed, however, my own view is that violations of treaty rights were some times unavoidable, and if the matter were referred to me, I would have advocated settling these violations to the satisfaction of all by diplomatic means after the settlement of the Incident in China."

The prosecution now offers in evidence, in this order, IPS document No. 2253C and 2253B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2253 which is exhibit

No. 187F.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2253C will receive exhibit No. 2220, and document

No. 2253B will receive exhibit No. 2221.

(Whereupon, prosecution's document No. 2253C was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2220, and prosecution's document No. 2253B was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2221, and both were received in evidence.)

MR. COMYNS CARR: Exhibit 2220:

"After I became War Minister, I discussed
the policy of the occupation of General Chang's four
provinces to clear up the Manchurian situation.
After I had made the plan up myself with the Prime
Minister, the Foreign Minister, and the Finance
Minister, all agreed with me. The Prime Minister
approached the Privy Council for approval."

Exhibit 2221:

"The Japanese naval commander ordered the landing of troops in Shanghai on January 28, 1932. I do not remember discussions in the Cabinet. The Cabinet could not recall the troops because the battle was going on. I do not think the attack was to cripple the Chinese boycott. I do not remember that it was

discussed in the Cabinet. They did discuss the means of ending the incident. The naval commander in Shanghai reported the landing to the Navy Minister who reported it to the Cabinet, and that was the first time I heard of it. Since the Navy Minister said it could be settled quickly, no one was worried. On February the 2nd or 3rd, the Navy Minister came to me and stated that due to the hard fight, the naval forces might be destroyed and could the army send some forces. I conferred with the Cabinet and it was agreed that the army would send supporting forces quickly. Troops were sent the following day on destroyers to Shanghai.

"At the Cabinet meeting, the Foreign,
Finance, Prime, War and Navy Ministers at least were
there. I think it was agreed to send one and onehalf divisions. These were sent. Approximately
ten thousand men. It was after the Cabinet approval
*nat I ordered that troops be sent and also that the
incident be localized. The troops were sent as support for the Navy, the Navy waging a losing war against the Chinese Nineteenth houte Army.

"The first division I sent was under General UEDA, but since he suffered great losses and was having difficulties, I sent another supporting division and

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when the Nineteenth Army heard of this, they started to withdraw and at that time General SHIRAKAWA either talked to the Nanking Bovernment or with the Nanking Army and urged that fighting cease. Just before the supporting division landed, the battle was concluded. After this conclusion, a representative of the Lengue of Nations, a representative from Japan and from China, came to an agreement that Japan should have one Japanese brigade remain in that area, but I thought all troops should be withdrawn from China."

The prosecution offers in evidence IPS document No. 2248B, being excerpts from IPS document No. 2248 which is exhibit No. 187A.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2248B will receive exhibit No. 2222.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 2222 and received in evidence.)
MR. COMYNS CARR: (heading)

"Q Who was present at the special Cabinet meeting of March 17, 1933 at which it was finally agreed in the Cabinet that Japan should withdraw from the League?

"A The Prime Minister (SAITO); War Minister

(ARAKI); Navy Minister (OSUMI); Finance Minister 1 (TAKAHASHI); Foreign Minister (UCHIDA); Home 2 Minister (YAMAMOTO); and Education Minister (KOYAMA). "Q All Ministers were present? "A Yes. "Q And all agreed that Japan should withdraw 6 from the League of Nations? "A Yes. 8 The Foreign Minister went to the Emperor to 9 call the Privy Council for advice as to Japan's with-10 drawal, is that correct? 11 "A Yes. 12 "Q A special committee appeared from the 13 Cabinet before the Privy Council? 14 "A Yes. 15 "Q Who were they? 16 "A SAITO (Prime Minister); OSUMI (Navy Minister); 17 18 ARAKI (War Minister); UCHIDA (Foreign Minister). I 19 think there was a full Cabinet Conference later." 20 That concludes the excerpts from interroga-21 tions. 22 The prosecution now offers in evidence IPS 23 document No. 2155 for identification. The prosecution offers in evidence IPS document No. 2155B which consists of two speeches by the accused ARAKI taken from the

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exhibit.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2155 will receive exhibit No. 2223 for identification only; and the excerpt therefrom, document No.

2155B, will receive exhibit No. 2223A.

(Whereupon, prosecution's document No. 2155 was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 2223 for identification; and
prosecution's document No. 2155B was marked
prosecution's exhibit No. 2223A and received in evidence.)

MR. COMYNS CARH: I now propose to read excerpts from the first speech:

"On the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Issuance of the Imperial Rescript on the Awakening of the National Spirit

> "Minister of Education, Baron ARAKI, Sadao.

"On 10 November 1923, the Emperor TAISHO, being greatly concerned about the contemporary condition of our Empire, reverently issued an Imperial Rescript on the Awakening of the National Spirit.

"For the past fifteen years since then our people have observed its spirit day and night and

have endeavored earnestly for its realization. The 10th of October marks its fifteenth anniversary.

"This is just the time when CANTON and three principal cities near HANKOW have been captured in succession by our Imperial Army marking one phase of this incident. We have finally come to a period for actual activities in the long-term construction. In view of the graveness of the present situation of our Empire, I believe our people should proceed with the subjugation of difficulties with a determination much firmer than that made after the KWANTO earthquake disaster.

"And now, as we await the anniversary of the issuance of the hescript, I believe we must proceed on the path of supporting the Emperor's undertaking of expanding the Imperial Way by renewing the spirit with which we had received the Imperial hescript."

And another excerpt on page 2 at the bottom:

sions, the fundamental question of the present situation does not lie in the China Incident but the present situation must be regarded as a sign of the laws of a new world peace. Therefore, it is a great mistake to think that the occupation of some important strate-

gic points in China will mean the settlement of the present situation. On the contrary, at present, we have only seen the first ray of the dawn of a new world that has been gradually approaching since the close of the World War. It is our country that has been playing a leading part in it as a pioneer, and I believe that Japan is in a position to play an important role in the coming new world. Consequently, we have an important duty imposed upon us, and we must be fully prepared for any emergency. Japan, who has sprung from 'Japan in the Orient' to 'Japan in the world, ' is now placed in such a difficult condition. So we must bear in mind, as the Japanese subjects, the honor and the duty to play an important role on the world's stage in settling the present difficult question. The present condition, I think, will not come to an end in near future. Whatever Chiang Kai-shek or the world may say about us, we must be pushing forward, slowly but steadily, towards the construction of a new world, ever storing up the national strength, ever reflecting upon our own essence and ever eradicating the roots of evils, as the subjects of a glorious country who is holding a heavy responsibility upon themselves, at this dawn of a new world."

And then -- I now propose to read excerpts from the second speech, heading:

"Instructions at the National Conference of Principals of Agricultural Schools.

"I have just been appointed by the Emperor to the post of Education Minister, and am to manage the educational administration. In view of the present situation, I am aware of the extremely heavy responsibility of the task, and expect to exert my utmost in carrying out my duty.

"At this critical period the most important thing is the strengthening of the national spirit."

On the bottom of page 6:

"Next, in view of conditions in our country,
I think it is very important to devise the overseas
expansion of the people. Especially, in order to
carry out the national policy based on the unity of
Japan, Manchukuo and China, the most urgent mission
is the advancement to the Continent of many youths
possessing thorough education and firm faith. I desire everyone of you to fully understand the state
of affairs in our country and endeavor to promote the
spirit of overseas expansion of the YAMATO Race."

That concludes the documents with regard to ARAKI, and I now propose to recall General TANAKA for

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Logan.

MA. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, we renew the objections made when General TANAKA was called the second time, with the same force and effect as if made today, and there has been no reservation by the prosecution at the time he left the stand the second time for permission to recall him at this time.

MR. COMYNS CARR: My friend is in error in his last remark. The Tribunal may remember that I applied at the time when he was here on the second occasion and informed the Tribunal that we would have been perfectly prepared to proceed with this matter then, but that as some of the evidence which he is to give affects the accused MUTO, who was absent on that occasion, and also his counsel, owing to illness, we asked leave to postpone it.

THE PRESIDENT: The Tribunal will receive further evidence from TANAKA. The objection is overruled.

MR. McMANUS. If your Honor please, concerning the last document read by Mr. Comyns Carr, may I call the Tribunal's attention that where it was mentioned "overseas expansion" the speech was

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you:

delivered from the standpoint of an agricultural pelicy? 3 4 recalled as a wit-TANAKA, RYSKICHI 5 ness on behalf of the prosecution, res med 6 the stand and testified through Japanese 7 interpreters as follows: 8 THE PRESIDENT (to the witness): You are 9 under your former oath. 10 DIRECT EXAMINATION 11 BY MR. COMYNS CARR: 12 The first thing I want to ask you, General, 13 is about another conversation with the accused 14 ITAGAKI concerning the Manchurian Affair. Do you 15 remember the conversation to which I am referring? 16 17 Yes. A 18 About when did that conversation take 19 place's 20 A In the summer of 1935. 21 Now, would you tell us what ITAGAKI teld

In December of 1931 General HONJO, Commender-

in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, made up his mind that

Manchukuo -- that Manchuria must become an independ-

ent state; and when ITAGAKI went to Japan to convey this opinion to the Japanese Government, he conveyed -- ITAGAKI conveyed HONJO'S opinion to the government and army circles, whereupon, concerning complete independence, these circles showed some difficulty. But War Minister AhAKI said that complete independence was the only way in which the Manchurian Incident could be solved, and concurred with this opinion of HONJO'S. This is what ITAGAKI told me.

- Q According to what he told you, was the Cabinet in favor of this policy or against it.
 - A The Cabinet was against it.
- Q Did ARAKI, according to ITAGAKI, give him any instructions as to what he was to do?
- A I believe that he didn't give him any instructions. I heard only that War Minister ARAKI agreed with this opinion, saying that that line of policy should be taken.
 - Q And what happened?
- A In March Menchuris declared her independence.
- Now, were there in the army at that time certain factions, divisions of opinion between the high officers?

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A Yes, there were divisions of opinion.

Q What were the names of the principal groups?

All these fections had as their fundamental aim the renovation of the corrupt politics at that time and the complete reformation of the corrupt government of the time. One of these factions was called the Kodo faction, or the Imperial Way faction. The other faction was called the Acsel festion, or the Control faction. Both of them were for the reformation of Japan.

Who was the head of the Kodo faction?

A The leaders of the Kodo faction were General ARAKI, General MAZAKI, and Lieutenant General YANA-GAWA.

Q Had that faction any particular views with regard to war?

A The principal motto of the Kodo faction was reverence for the Emperor -- was the direct rule of the Emperor, and was -- and this faction was entirely opposed to communism. Therefore it was very antagonistic towards Soviet Russia. It had no enmity -- no special enmity towards other nations.

Q Now quite a different subject: During the early years of the Manchurian Affair what organiza-

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tion controlled opium traffic in Manchuria:

A Until 1935, when the Opium Control Board

Was set up, the opium trade was controlled by the

various special service organs of the ermy.

Q In Southern Manchuria who was at the head of the special service organ in question?

A It was the Mukden Special Service Organiza-

Q Yes. And who was in command of that?

A Major General ISHIHARA was in charge of the special service organization at Mukden when the Manchurian Incident broke out. Later, for a short time, someone whose name I do not remember occupied that position, and then again Major General DOHI-HARA became the head of that organization.

Q And did he remain in that position until the change-over that you have spoken of?

A Correction. At the time of the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident the head of the special service organization was Major General DOHIHARA in Mukden.

Q Then, to go to my next question, did he remain at the head of that organization right down to the time when the control of the opium traffic was transferred?

A Yes.

Q Now, who were the people who principally brought about that change, that transfer of control?

A The ones who made efforts to take away the control of opium traffic from the various special

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service organizations and to establish the opium monopoly bureau were these three, namely: General MINAMI, Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army; his Chief of Staff, General ITAGAKI; and the next Chief of Staff, General TOJO.

Q Now, when the transfer had taken place what was the relation between the new bureau and the Government of Manchukuo?

A The duties of this monopoly bureau was to collect and to sell opium as one of the outer bureaus of the Manchurian Government.

Q And what was the effect of that change upon the finances of Manchukuo?

A Although I do not remember exactly, I believe that at the time I was there the yearly revenue from this source was about twenty million yen.

Q And did that go to the Manchukuo Government?

A Yes:

Q Now, I want you to tell us a little bit more about the position of the Military Affairs Bureau in the War Ministry.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, that subject was covered fully the last time General TANAKA appeared upon the stand, and the prosecution had no further redirect at that time:

THE PRESIDENT: There was much evidence about it, but I do not think the position was made as plain as it might be.

BY MR. COMYNS CARR (Continued):

Q In the first place, what were the powers of that bureau with relation to measures taken by the General Staff?

The General Staff Office draws up plans for the operations, mobilization, and organization of the army; but these are only plans, and in order to put these plans into execution the General Staff must gain the agreement of the Military Affairs Bureau. In other words, since the War Ministry controls expenses and supplies, in drawing up any plans for operations, organization, and the mobilization of the army, the General Staff Office must have the expenses and supplies given to it from the War Ministry, and, therefore, in making such plans the General Staff Office requests the War Ministry for such expenses and supplies. Upon receiving such request the War Ministry, after studying the funds and supplies it has, carries out the General Staff's plans, and the Military Affairs Bureau is that section of the War Ministry for carrying out these plans, which does these things.

Q I think you told us before that they control

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the budget; is that right?

A Yes, that is true.

Q And now, if they have enough money themselves for the purpose, do they need to ask anybody else's consent before handing it over to the General Staff?

MR. LOGAN: I object to that as leading, your Honor.

THE PRESIDENT: It is not leading, in my opinion. The objection is overruled.

A The General Staff does not receive any of the budget of the army. The War Ministry itself apportions out the funds according to the directions of the War Ministry. The budget for the army is a budget which has been passed by the Diet.

Q Now, take the case where they have not got within the budget already passed sufficient funds to carry out what the General Staff recommends, what do they do then?

A The War Ministry reduces the budget -- reduces its expenses.

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Q If they wish to spend the additional money, to whom do they apply for it?

War Ministry, which then puts in a request to the government, and the government, after drawing up an additional budget, presents it to the Imperial Diet, and after receiving the consent of the Imperial Diet then the additional expenditure is granted and is apportioned out by the War Ministry to the necessary sections. This work is carried out under the direction of the Military Affairs Bureau.

Q Now, a different subject. When we find from time to time a statement of policy being issued by the army -- not by any individual but in the name of the army -- who are the people or what office is responsible for preparing and issuing such a statement?

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, that-THE INTERPRETER: The witness replied, "It
is the Military Affairs Bureau."

MR. LOGAN: That question is highly speculative, to try and find out who is responsible for a certain general policy. If the prosecution has any particular policy in mind and this witness knows who made the statement, that would be proper, to ask him that.

But for a general policy to include everybody in it in a sort of blanket manner is certainly objectionable.

I understand that the witness answered the question. I also ask that his answer be stricken out.

THE PRESIDENT: He did not answer as far as I am aware. I did not hear any answer.

I understand the interpreter says he did.

THE MONITOR: Yes, your Honor, the witness answered, "The Military Affairs Bureau," sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we will take his answer.

But I see no reason why the question should be stricken.

It seemed to me to be a reasonable question and answer. Apparently one body is responsible for statements of policy, and that is the Military Affairs Bureau. Who was responsible on any particular occasion is a matter to be determined; I mean, what individuals associated with the bureau.

Q Now, when questions required to be settled between the army and the navy, which department in the army and which department in the navy would deal with them?

A All negotiations with sections outside the respective ministries were done by the respective military affairs bureaus.

Q Now, I want to come to ask you some questions

with regard to the relations between TOJO when he was War Minister and afterwards also Prime Minister, and, first of all, MUTO and then SATO.

Take MUTO first. From your personal observation when you were in the War Ministry, what would you say were the relations between TOJO and MUTO?

A Lieutenant General MUTO became Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau in October 1939, and because of his brilliant brains and political ability, he was the outstanding character — he was one of the principal figures in the War Ministry. In July 1940, when the YONAI Cabinet fell and War Minister HATA resigned, he continued, MUTO continued, in his post as Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. And when Lieutenant General TOJO succeeded General HATA as War Minister he continued in this post. And in October 1941 when General TOJO became Prime Minister and concurrently War Minister, MUTO was still Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and MUTO continued in this post until April 1942, when he became Commander of the Imperial Guards Division.

During these years, in reality the army was the driving force in Japan, and as a matter of fact, almost all the policies of the army were evolved from the brilliant mind of this same General MUTO as Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't suppose you expected answers just in that terminology. That is outside his province as a witness.

We will adjourn now until half-past nine tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment was taken until Wednesday, 22 January 1947, at 0930.)